

JPRS-NEA-90-046  
27 AUGUST 1990



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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Near East & South Asia**

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NATIONAL TECHNICAL INFORMATION SERVICE  
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

**DMC QUALITY INSPECTED 3**

# Near East & South Asia

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## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### South Asian Peace, Superpowers Role Discussed

90AS0295C Karachi DAWN in English  
27 Jul 90 pp 7, 12

[Article by Qutubuddin Aziz. First paragraph was in boxed in area in article. Words in italics as published.]

[Text] While dialogue with India should be kept going, it would be unwise for Pakistan to lower its guard. Pakistan's envoys in the U.S. and UN have done well in projecting the country's viewpoint vis-a-vis India and Kashmir. So has the Prime Minister during her foreign tours. But more needs to be done because New Delhi is said to be undertaking a major diplomatic and media campaign in the West.

The Bush Administration will continue its efforts to prevent an Indo-Pakistan war and it believes that President Gorbachev will also use his influence in New Delhi in support of peace in the subcontinent. This is the impression which currently prevails in knowledgeable quarters in Washington. U.S. officials welcomed the commencement of a dialogue between India and Pakistan at the Foreign Secretaries' level as a move to reduce tension.

The continuation of the dialogue process, even though it may be prolonged, gives Washington the hope that the danger of a military conflagration in the subcontinent has receded. Nonetheless, the U.S. Government is keeping a watchful eye on the subcontinental scene and troop deployments in sensitive areas are being carefully monitored by orbiting American satellites and intelligence-gathering agencies.

In the Bush-Gorbachev summit talks in Washington on 31 May to 3 June, the crisis in Indo-Pakistan relations over the explosive Kashmir dispute was discussed at considerable length. The ruling heads of the two superpowers agreed that New Delhi and Islamabad should be urged to avoid war and settle their festering rows through negotiations. President Bush tried to persuade President Gorbachev to join him in issuing a joint call to India and Pakistan to desist from going to war and to begin a dialogue. But the Soviet leader, it is said, did not accept the U.S. proposal. Instead, he assured President Bush that he would promote the cause of peace in the subcontinent through Soviet diplomatic channels and talks with the Indian Prime Minister, Mr V.P. Singh.

Washington was pleased when the executive heads of the seven richest Western nations, in their summit meeting in Houston in Texas in the second week of July, made a joint appeal to India and Pakistan to avoid war and to seek a negotiated solution of their dispute over Kashmir. These seven industrialised nations are the biggest donors of economic aid to the two feuding subcontinental neighbours through the World Bank's Aid Consortiums and bilaterally. Moscow's hope of obtaining a reportedly \$20 billion aid package from the West for invigorating the

Soviet economy so as to strengthen Mr Gorbachev's power base is linked to their willingness to be helpful to the USSR.

Although the U.S. Government has not accepted New Delhi's patent argument that the UN Security Council's past resolutions, calling for a UN-supervised plebiscite in the disputed State of Jammu and Kashmir are "as dead as dodo," Washington believes that the 1972 Simla Agreement, which both sides uphold, provides a workable framework for settling the 42-year-old dispute through negotiations. American analysts of the subcontinental scene note the fact that the Simla Agreement, while binding the Governments of India and Pakistan to respect the post-1971 Line of Control, "without prejudice to the recognised position of either side," commits them to seeking "a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir."

Under UN procedures, the Security Council remains seized of the Kashmir problem, maintaining at UN expense a UN Military Observer Group [UNMOG] to oversee the ceasefire along the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir. Every year the UN Secretary-General submits a report on its activities to the UN General Assembly. The UNMOG investigates complaints of ceasefire violations and submits a report to the UN Secretary-General. In mid-May, when the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Sahabzada Yaqub Khan's letter to the Security Council on India's repression in occupied Kashmir was circulated amongst the UN members, the Council's President, Mr Claus Tornud, said to newsmen in equivocal words that, in principle, Security Council resolutions "remain valid as long as a problem remains." U.S. analysts recall that some 28 years ago, soon after the India-China border war, the then U.S. President and the British Prime Minister persuaded Pakistan and India to hold talks on Kashmir late in 1962 and early in 1963 at the Foreign Ministers' level, although they were barren of results.

In April and May this year, U.S. officials were deeply concerned over the war-like moves in the sub-continent following the indigenous Muslim uprising in Indian-held Kashmir and New Delhi's bid to crush it with an iron hand. Some thought that India and Pakistan were teetering on the brink of a full-scale war and that Prime Minister V.P. Singh, troubled by domestic political worries, was being pressured by the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] hawks to use India's armed might to "teach Pakistan a lesson." Gleaning of the subcontinental scene from U.S. military intelligence satellites disclosed massive troop concentrations along the India-Pakistan border and in Jammu and Kashmir. U.S. newspapers splashed long despatches from their correspondents in New Delhi about the war hysteria in India and the imminence of war with Pakistan over Kashmir where the Indian security forces had unleashed brutal repression to quash the Muslim uprising.

The Indian embassy in Washington was reportedly shocked by the wave of anti-India outbursts by many

eminent Congressmen and Senators. Thirty six Congressmen introduced late in April a bill in the U.S. House of Representatives which sought to cut off U.S. development aid to India unless it allowed Amnesty International to conduct an investigation of Human Rights violations, particularly in East Punjab and Indian-held Kashmir. To cover up the gory repressive measures against the Kashmiri freedom fighters, New Delhi trotted out its patent rise of Pakistan allegedly fuelling the uprising in held Kashmir and East Punjab and aiding what New Delhi brands as "terrorists" in the two states by running training camps from them inside Pakistan. When the Pakistan Foreign Minister suggested to his Indian counterpart in a meeting in New York for the investigation of the Indian allegation by a neutral team, New Delhi found it unacceptable.

It was against this grim backdrop of escalating tension between India and Pakistan that President Bush asked his Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, to discuss the sub-continental scenario with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, in Washington in April and in Moscow in mid-May. This was followed by the visit to Islamabad and New Delhi of a high-powered, three-member official team led by Mr Robert Gates, U.S. Deputy National Security Adviser, who worked for Mr Bush when he headed the CIA [Central Intelligence Agency]. Mr Gates delivered messages from President Bush to the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India, appealing to them for restraint and negotiations, instead of war, to settle their dispute over Kashmir.

Prime Minister V.P. Singh's parley with the U.S. team centred on India's allegations of Pakistan's intervention in Indian-held Kashmir and East Punjab. The Gates Mission returned to Washington with the impression that although the subcontinental situation was explosive, an outbreak of war in the immediate future was not likely. Its report on the India-Pakistan scene came in time for President Bush's talks with Mr Gorbachev in the following week.

An American correspondent, who had just returned to New York from New Delhi in mid-June, told me in private that aside from the superpowers' pressure, what made India reel back from a plan to unleash a limited war on Pakistan was the grim assessment of India's own military commanders that because the turbulence in East Punjab and uprising in Indian-held Kashmir, which border on Pakistan, India would need a million troops for a full-scale, no-holds-barred war with Pakistan from Siachin to the Rann of Kutch and that the cost and devastation would be horrendous.

The Indian generals complained, it is reported, that the Indian Army's numerical superiority over Pakistan had declined in recent years owing to the beefing up and modernisation of the Pakistan Army and that the 1990 Indian defence budget of more than 15,000 crore rupees was too inadequate. Having served as a Defence Minister in past years, Premier V.P. Singh, basically a pragmatist, listened to his generals and came to the

conclusion that deploying a few thousand more paramilitary troops in Kashmir and prolonging the curfew in Srinagar would be much less expensive than risking a bloody conflagration in which either side in a desperate moment could feel tempted to unlock the nuclear genie and cause devastation. U.S. Senator Daniel Moynihan let his imagination run riot last May when he conjured up, in a Press interview in New York, the terrifying vision of the subcontinent being engulfed in the flames of a nuclear war.

While the dialogue with India should be kept going, it would be unwise for Pakistan to lower its guard. Pakistan's Ambassadors in Washington and at the UN have done well in projecting the country's viewpoint vis-a-vis India and Kashmir. So has Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in the course of her recent foreign tours. But more needs to be done because New Delhi is said to be undertaking a major diplomatic and media campaign in the West to project its case and it will move into top gear just before the UN General Assembly meets in September.

While seeking a continuation of New Delhi's close relationship with Moscow, Prime Minister V.P. Singh wants to strengthen Indo-U.S. relations because of the huge increase in their mutual trade in recent years and India's large-scale purchase of defence-related technology from the U.S. Washington has warned both New Delhi and Islamabad that it would cut off economic aid and military supplies if either side starts a war.

While Washington is well aware of Pakistan's case despite the blue book of India's allegations of Pakistani intervention in Kashmir issued by the Indian Government, Pakistan will have to inject more vigour into its lobbying and publicity effort both on Capitol Hill and in the U.S. media. Many Kashmiri groups in the U.S. and the UK have made useful contributions to the cause of publicising Kashmir's case for self-determination. So have patriotic Pakistanis in both these countries.

It is equally important that no opportunity is missed to keep Moscow informed of Pakistan's viewpoint and Islamabad's earnest desire to help maintain peace in the subcontinent. Despite the ongoing Afghanistan problem, Moscow, as a superpower which certainly does not want to be sucked into another regional military conflict, may show a greater understanding of the Pakistani position.

*(Mr Aziz, a former diplomat and journalist, has just returned after a six-week visit to the USA and the UK).*

### **Conference Considers Co-operative Purchasing, Management**

90AS0295B Colombo DAILY NEWS in English  
24 Jul 90 p 26

[Business & Finance Section: "Regional Co-operation in Purchasing- CONFAB Theme"]

[Text] The 6th International Federation of Purchasing and Materials Management Asia Pacific Regional Conference will be held in Singapore from 26-28 July.

Several countries of the region will be attending the conference. The theme of the conference is "Regional Co-operation in Purchasing and Materials Management in 90s."

Materials constitute such a large percentage of the total cost of any project, so that purchasing and materials management are considered two of the profit centres by many organizations, said Group Captain A.H. Puvimanasinghe the Immediate Past President of the Institute of Materials Management.

In Sri Lanka too it is now an accepted fact that materials management is of paramount importance, he said.

In a recent report of the committee on Administrative Reforms it was stated that more than 50 percent of the annual expenditure of government relates to supplies procurement. The efficient management of procurement of supplies and assets therefore plays a major role in the efficient management of financial resources. It was also stated that the size of government procurement is too large and high in terms of cost to be left to be handled by non-professionals. This applies to the private sector as well, said Group Captain Puvimanasinghe.

The Institute of Supplies and Materials Management was incorporated by Act of Parliament. The institute trains personnel in various grades of materials management leading to standard professional qualifications in purchasing and materials management. The institute diploma examination qualifies a holder for corporate membership of the institute.

The institute has nominated two special delegates Mr G.A. Hidelarachchi, its present president and Group Captain A.H. Puvimanasinghe its immediate past president to attend the conference in Singapore. Six other delegates representing the institute will also be attending the conference. They are Vice Presidents S.B.R. Bandara, M.M. Premachandran council members M.B. Disanayake, P.K.D. Perera, H.A.S. Perera and H.M. Bandusena.

The institute proposes to request the federation to hold the regional conference in Colombo in 1994. The bid for holding the conference in 1994 will be decided at the Singapore conference next week, said Group Captain Puvimanasinghe. The conference is held once in two years and the 1992 conference will be held in India. The 1988 conference was held in Australia.

If the proposal to hold the conference in Colombo is accepted it will undoubtedly be a boost for Sri Lanka's tourist industry and the Tea Board, he said.

#### **Islamist Party Leaders Reportedly Meet in Mecca** *90AA0264A Tunis AL-I'LAN in Arabic 13 Jun 90 p 3*

[Article: "Ghannouchi, Abassi Madani Meet in Mecca; Secret Behind Story"]

[Text] The world press has circulated a report to the effect that Abassi Madani has gone to the holy lands at

the invitation of Saudi Arabia to participate, according to these sources, in a summit combining the most significant Islamic movements.

Abassi Madani has had an appointment with Rachid Ghannouchi, the Tunisian Nahda [Party] leader; Hasan al-Turabi, the Sudanese Muslim Brotherhood leader; and the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood movements in Egypt, Iraq, and Syria. What secret lies behind the story?

#### **Strategy Unification**

Islamic movement leaders met in the venerable city of Mecca last Sunday. In addition to Abassi Madani, Rachid Ghannouchi, and Hasan al-Turabi, the meeting was also attended by Shaykh (Mahfouz Nahnah), the brotherhood leader in the Algerian province of Blida. If numerous observers have wondered about the secret behind this important meeting of the Islamic movement leaders in Mecca in particular, Ghannouchi points out in his latest interview with JEUNE AFRIQUE, published in the magazine's latest issue, that consultation and coordination between the Maghreb Islamic movements is nothing new and that Abassi Madani's victory in Algeria is a victory for the sound visions concerning the Arab Maghreb destiny which will be an Islamic destiny primarily and fundamentally.

It is well known that Rachid Ghannouchi kept in close touch with the developments of the various phases of the Algerian municipal and provincial election battles. Ghannouchi presents himself as unifier of the various Algerian Islamist factions. He says that there is no place for making a distinction between and for pigeonholing Abassi Madani and Ali Belhajjaj, for example, and that necessity dictates that each shoulder his task. Whereas Madani is tolerant of women who do not wear the veil and who associate with non-Muslims, Belhajjaj is fully dedicated to the true course of the Maghreb Islamic movement, exactly as the Nahda deals with the developments in Tunisia and the brotherhood in Egypt deals with the government, the opposition, and the people.

Reports indicate that a prior meeting had combined these factions during Algeria's 12 June elections and that this meeting was held in Yemen.

The same reports indicate that the natural strategic dimension of the brotherhood movements is the desert in its Arab sense and not the desert as drawn up by the western maps that divide the area according to the colonialist forces' ambitions at the outset of this century. This is why the brothers work to reinforce the brotherhood movement in Sudan and Chad so that the invasion may stretch through the desert to Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria. The Maghreb will then find itself forced into the grip of the brotherhood, especially when we learn that the brotherhood winds are working ceaselessly to infiltrate the army's ranks in Mauritania.

The same sources point out that Saudi Arabia's hosting of this summit does not mean that Saudi Arabia belongs

to it or that it supports it unconditionally, considering that Islam's shaykhs in Saudi Arabia view all the Islamic movements as movements that rally behind the attestation [that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is God's prophet] and the Koran and that regardless of how divergent these movements are, they get united in the holy lands and in the two venerable mosques behind the Sunna without heresies and without ideological (demagoguery). One of the constants of Wahhabism is this view that is now uniting the Muslims in Saudi Arabia. The Wahhabists believe that Islam is the Sunna and the Koran and that anything else, including the brotherhood movements, is a heresy and that even though these movements meet in Mecca, the true house of Islam, what they think is ultimately nothing but heresy.

Meanwhile, the brotherhood exploits these Saudi beliefs and the democratic options that entrench the right to disagreement in Tunisia and Algeria to plant itself deeply in these countries and to ride this tolerance for the purpose of politicizing religion.

This problem and others are no secret to Ghannouchi and Madani who always coordinate in light of the developments in the Maghreb arena. Whereas Madani works to invade the largest area that Algeria's current conditions permit him to invade, Ghannouchi urges his followers in Tunisia to be patient until dawn breaks in Algeria for fear of a Tunisian legitimate reaction that may destroy his movement which has met and continues to meet strong opposition from the civilian parties.

A final point. While the Islamic tendency leaderships have been moving and meeting, the Maghreb civilian leaderships at the government and opposition levels have been holding secret meetings to study these developments. The Maghreb summit (scheduled to meet in Algiers at the end of July) may be an opportunity for the Arab Maghreb leaderships to pursue the tactic they will follow in the region against, of course, the brotherhood or with it, which is unlikely though not impossible.

### **Regional Isolation Advocated Among Steps Against Israel**

90AA0237A *Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic*  
6 Jul 90 pp 14-15

[Article by Mustafa al-Husayni: "Reply to Shamir's 'Dreams': Regional Agreement To Isolate Israel"]

[Excerpt] How are we to understand Shamir's reply to the letter from U.S. President George Bush, in the context of its contents revealed so far?

In order to understand the reply, we must disregard certain details, such as Shamir's refusal to allow a Palestinian delegation as proposed by the Americans for a dialogue with Israel, which is to include Palestinians who are not from the West Bank and Gaza; his refusal to allow Palestinian residents of Jerusalem to participate in

the dialogue; and even his refusal to allow the PLO to be a party to the dialogue or to any subsequent negotiations.

Instead, we must concentrate our attention on Shamir's call for negotiations that would include all the Arab countries, aimed at reaching a final solution to end Arab-Israeli enmity.

This call cannot be understood in isolation from the statements Shamir made prior to his reply to Bush's letter, when he said that Israel would not withdraw from any part of "the land of Israel"—the West Bank and Gaza.

Thus, what Shamir wants is negotiations with the outcome decided in advance: the Arab countries, along with the rest of the world, would recognize Israel's annexation of this land, and we would establish relations with Israel on this basis.

It may appear to some that this Israeli position is merely a "wild dream" luring deluded people.

However, the true problem does not lie in the characterization. The real problem is that this "wild dream" now appears to Israel as a "rosy dream" that is attainable!

In fact, this "wild/rosy dream" is nothing more than the groundwork for a greater dream!

With the current change in the international order from two axes to multiple poles, Israel sees a "historical" opportunity to be one of these poles, seeing in the current international realignment a vacuum it believes only it is capable of filling: all of Africa, plus West Asia, at present do not fall under any conceivable sphere of influence of the axes of the international order that is being formed, and there is no other country or power in the region capable of filling this vacuum, even if it wanted to.

Israel believes that through "expanding the borders of the state" and filling the territories it will annex—in the framework of the settlement called for by Shamir—with large numbers of highly-skilled immigrants (from the Soviet Union) and tremendous wealth (from South Africa), it will realize this dream.

Thus, Israel will become the leader that controls this vast region.

What will we do?

A possible agenda would be lengthy, complex, and complicated; in other words, there are many possibilities.

This agenda could include attempting to thwart Jewish emigration at the source, hindering it on its way to Palestinian territory, and trying to redirect it to other areas and countries (which is also more in keeping with the wishes of the majority of the emigrants).

This would be very difficult, but worth the effort.

The agenda could include strengthening and diversifying the Palestinian intifadah to move toward establishing a



"de facto state" in the West Bank and Gaza as the embodiment of the declared Palestinian state.

The agenda could include expanding the scope of the intifadah to include Palestinians living within Israel's pre-1967 borders. In fact, these Palestinians could raise a demand they raised earlier at a conference in Shefar'am in the late 1970's: "the right of regional self-determination"—the right of areas heavily populated with Palestinians to secede from Israel.

The agenda could include the efforts being discussed to provide protection to Palestinians in these territories.

It could include an effort to place the territories under international administration; i.e., this arrangement would be effected or the UN bureaucracy would administer the territories until such time that it is effected, as proposed by Australia with regard to Cambodia.

The agenda could include the Arab countries' preparing for a distinct possibility—the outbreak of a new Arab-Israeli war—instead of being lulled into complacency by untrue statements not deserving our trust, from "The 1973 war was the last Arab-Israeli war" (particularly since it was followed by another war in 1982, and the succeeding years have witnessed not a few Israeli military operations, from Baghdad to Tunisia) to "The days of dealing with regional conflicts through armed force have passed," since this is simply not true. The super powers say this, however, because they want to disassociate themselves from such conflicts.

All of these are elements of an agenda that must be made into a plan to be carried out.

However, there is a greater task that is the framework for this agenda—the task of "filling the vacuum," as Israel dreams of doing in order to become a world leader.

Specifically, the task is not to "fill the vacuum," but to eliminate the concept of the "vacuum" itself.

Thus, the task is to "achieve a regional agreement" to "isolate" Israel within the region.

This task is the responsibility of the Arabs more than of any other party in the region because it is our concern more than that of any other party. [passage omitted]

### **Israeli Pilot Who Bombed Iraqi Reactor Interviewed**

90AE0265A Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew  
19 Aug 90 p 2

[Interview by Shlomo Naqdimon]

[Text] Interview by Shlomo Naqdimon with Israeli Air Force Pilot "R." who participated in the attack on the Iraqi reactor.

[Naqdimon] Today, nine years after the bombing of the reactor, do you feel that the Israel Air Force saved the world from a confrontation with a state with nuclear warfare capability?

["R"] There is no doubt that had we not bombed the reactor, the problem would have been more severe. The West might have had a better justification for a preemptive attack. Then the U.S. would be facing the question which Begin faced: Should an active nuclear reactor be bombed resulting in radioactive fallout?

[Naqdimon] In your opinion, what will be the results of aerial dog-fights between U.S. and Iraqi pilots?

["R"] The Americans will swallow them alive. They are simply better- equipped and they are better pilots. I know that they are good.

[Naqdimon] Try to put yourself in the place of an American pilot and to imagine what he will feel when ordered to bomb a nuclear reactor or chemical plant in Iraq....

["R"] He will have to show respect for Iraqi defenses, which are today ready and more prepared. This includes interceptors and many batteries of advanced ground-to-air missiles. This is a defense system which gained much battle experience during the war with Iran.

[Naqdimon] Will the elimination of Iraqi strategic targets complete the work that you started?

["R"] Definitely. This will make things easier for us later on, if, God forbid, there should be an Iraqi-Israeli confrontation. "R." participated in the War of Attrition, in the Yom Kippur War, in the Lebanon War, and downed two Syrian MiG-21's. The citation "R." received from then Chief-of-Staff, Rafa'el Eytan, stated: "Prepared and led one of the most daring missions ever carried out by the Air Force in its history, demonstrating calm and leadership on the highest and most daring professional level."

### **Commentary Urges SAARC To Emulate 'Maghreb Union'**

90AS0295A Colombo THE ISLAND in English  
25 Jul 90 p 8

[Text] World events seem to be overtaking Sri Lankans and other South Asians caught up in the maelstrom of political violence in their countries. We have on some occasions, in these columns, pointed out to the universal trend of regionalism. Countries big and small in different regions of the world are getting together and restructuring their economies while the seven South Asian countries find it hard to decide on a venue for their summit meetings, as seen in recent times.

We are now witnessing Eastern and Western Europe, coming together into one powerful economic combine. In time Europe is certain to link itself with North America. To meet these challenges other regions are

responding in a similar fashion. Earlier we had commented on Australia, New Zealand the Pacific Islands getting together to form a new regional grouping. There is the powerful group of seven South Asian countries ASEAN. And yesterday it was reported that five nations in North Africa—Maghreb countries—have set the target of a common Maghreb Union by the year 2000. Five leaders of Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya and Mauritania who met in Algiers this week had considered the prospect of facing a united Europe and endorsed a series of economic accords designed to spur development, it was reported.

The Maghreb countries put together have only 65 million people—much smaller than the 7 countries of South Asia which accounts for about a quarter of the world's population. They are as quarrelsome as us south Asians, even more cantankerous and have long standing disputes and enmities. But sheer necessity has brought them together and indications are that they have progressed much more than what the five year old SAARC has been able to accomplish. Reports said that the Maghreb Union has approved plans for a customs union with unified tariffs for trade with the outside world by 1991 in addition to six other accords on investment, food and the creation of common airline. It is also expected to call for greater cooperation with the European community and hold ministerial level talks in November.

How far has SAARC progressed in this direction?

/12913

## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### Fundamentalism as Tool for Liberation Questioned

90AE0235A Nicosia AL-NASR in Arabic 15 Jul 90 p 10

[Article by 'Adnan Hindi: "Fundamentalist Movements, Trend and Alternative"]

[Text] What events in the Arab arena have helped push the fundamentalist movements forward? The importance of this question becomes manifest when we realize that the fundamentalist movements are not new in the arena but indeed are among the oldest of movements. It can be said that, until the end of the seventies, these movements had gone through a period of inaction and self-isolation. Until now, there has been no change in terms of ideology and dogma or even in terms of political strategy. A first glance at the record and history of these movements reveals that they have not been properly accepted by the Arab man in the street. Certain events that have occurred here and there have failed to draw attention to the fundamentalist movements or to garner the interest and sympathy of the Arab masses. Some people these days like to attribute the fundamentalist expansion to the religious propensity of the masses, as though the masses of the forties and fifties lacked this kind of propensity. While having the material means is

considered an effective catalyst in the progression or regression of any movement, these means cannot be viewed as a crucial prerequisite for any mass expansion.

There is no doubt that the "Khomeini" revolution has effected a dramatic change in the outlook of the peoples of the region and the world vis-a-vis religion and fundamentalist movements. The gravitation of the Arab masses toward events in Iran had to do with their national sensibilities toward the malicious imperialist regime, the agent of imperialism, and its aggressive tool in the region. The importance of this is clear, namely that this movement has achieved national goals and has touched people's sensibilities. But when the Khomeini "revolution" went astray and began realizing unpatriotic goals by waging an unjustifiable war against the Muslim Arab state of Iraq that was in a constant state of hostility with the emperor's regime, things began to turn around little by little. The more the reactionary goals of the Khomeini regime were exposed, the more the masses turned away from this regime, becoming less sympathetic with it. Due to the different visions of the surrounding parties and to the Iranian revolution's tremendous accomplishments that gave it a halo of sacredness because of its link to religion on the one hand and its hostility to imperialism on the other hand, this process has taken a long time and is still in effect. The Khomeini regime's spurious patriotism and revolution notwithstanding, and despite the waning support that is now confined to Iran's partners in the area, many fundamentalist movements in the area are still dealing with events in Iran as a religious model that can be repeated in other areas. This means that Khomeini's failure cannot have an immediate bearing on those movements that have to assume their roles and pursue their own experience.

Another question remains: If the fundamentalist movements have failed to come out of their seclusion of many decades, and if the Khomeini revolution is nothing but a ruse that has lasted for a few years, are other movements likely to succeed?

The truth is that these movements are unlikely to succeed and that the Iranian model is the longest shot any other experience is likely to attain if it has any chance at all. The reasons for this are clear and can be found in the reactionary political strategy these movements adopt, an inactive and ossified strategy incapable of understanding any contemporary manifestation and unwilling to deal with all the scientific and realistic postulates, interacting with the problems of the age with a totally useless metaphysical outlook.

In order to take a realistic look at these movements, we will shed light on the HAMAS movement in the occupied territories as a living example of the development of the fundamentalist movements in the region because it is trying to follow in the footsteps of the Khomeini regime.

It is also trying to ride the tide of nationalism and feign hostility to imperialism and Zionism.

It is common knowledge that the HAMAS movement grew out of the Muslim Brotherhood Party, an old party known for its hostility toward national and progressive regimes and its cooperation with reactionary ones (the Numayri, the al-Sadat, the Saudi, the Jordanian regimes, etc.). The Muslim Brotherhood Party does not believe in counsel in the process of change that is a point of agreement with the reactionary regimes. It is well known that the party of liberation believes instead in the motto "reform the individual, and society will be reformed." This means that, if every member of society attained faith, we would automatically have a faithful society that would force itself on the regime, thereby attaining an Islamic state. It was this outlook that led to the definitive demarcation of the enemy camp and the friendly camp with regard to the Muslim Brotherhood. For the foremost strategic goal is to achieve a faithful grouping by peaceful means, putting off the conflict with Zionism and imperialism to a subsequent stage that may never come. It was this equation that determined the Muslim Brotherhood's concept of liberation (liberation not from Zionism and imperialism, but rather from bondage to others than God). The meaning of this is very clear, for the conflict is not one with imperialism and Zionism, for these are the People of the Book, but rather with the infidels and atheists, with the communists and national forces in the region. This is the secret of cooperation and agreement with the reactionary forces and, therefore, with Zionism and imperialism, a meeting of interests and goals if not one of another kind.

And whereas the "postponed Jihad" has relegated the Muslim Brotherhood to the rear, the intifadah almost did away with it for good. The Muslim Brotherhood became aware of this fact and had to make certain adjustments until God had his say. They also realized that the Muslim Brotherhood name had been ignored and was unremarkable, so they came up with the Islamic Resistance Movement. It was apparent from the outset that this name was meant to achieve two things: to protect the Muslim Brotherhood Party from extinction; and to compete with the PLO and confront the intifadah's overwhelming national expansion. The competition is clearly manifested through: nomenclature and slogans, the Islamic Resistance Movement versus the Palestinian Resistance Movement and the slogan "resist and do not bargain" is a challenge to "resist" (the unified national command); and the conflict with the enemy has been a very limited process entailing certain operations that did not go beyond propaganda and gaining new positions while wreaking wrath upon the revolutionary factions and unified command. A case in point is what happened in some prisons and detention camps for the Muslim Brotherhood has always constituted a very small minority of the prison and even the intifadah's detention camp population. I cannot remember when its members have ever come under siege because of their belief or affiliation. But, when the authorities waged an extensive

arrest campaign among the ranks of Hamas in the Gaza Strip, a large group of them was concentrated in one section of the Ansar-3 detention camp where a few Fatah leaders were also held. A few days later the Hamas members undertook a vicious attack against the Fatah elements. Add to that the attacks at the Ghaza and the Najah universities, and we are left with the realization that the conflict with the national movement is one of priorities of the HAMAS movement.

The history of the Muslim Brotherhood movement and its rejection of any armed struggle underscores its spurious participation in the intifadah. This fact is corroborated by the alleged radicalism in the HAMAS movement, for it maintained its hostility to the peaceful orientation and the PLO during the first two years of the intifadah. When talk about a Palestinian-Israeli meeting in Cairo was stepped up, the HAMAS representative, Dr. Mahmud al-Zahhar, announced the movement's willingness to take part in that meeting. This vacillating position underscores one fact, that HAMAS aims first and foremost to preserve its existence in the confrontation and competition with the PLO. It was afraid that if the meeting was a success and a Palestinian state was established, it would be relegated to the sidelines. But, when it realized after the meeting that its position had been jeopardized because of its tacit agreement to the meeting, which meant losing its *raison d'être*, it came out against the meeting and, in keeping with its uncompromising principles, it accused the PLO of treason and conspiracy. Up to this moment, however, HAMAS representatives and cadres have been hard pressed to come up with an answer to the question about their movement's position on the establishment of a Palestinian state, giving an elastic reply that makes it possible for them to adjust to any new changes that would allow them to take part in any possible solution. They say: "If the establishment of a Palestinian state is in the interest of Muslims, we are for it," but they of course dodge the matter of defining their position on whether or not this state would be in the Muslims' interest.

The question here is: How long can the HAMAS movement fool the masses and cover up its real positions? The answer is that while it is riding the national tide, it will find a niche for itself in the national arena, an arena that only knows conflict and recognizes freedom fighters. And since riding the national tide is against HAMAS' nature and has no place in its political strategy, it will not be too long before its true face is exposed and its fate will be no better than that of the Iranian regime.

Furthermore, the fate of the fundamentalist movements will be no better than that of the communist movements that are trying to impose a totalitarian system that has nothing to do with reality and has enough contradictions to nip in the bud any attempt. If some of these movements have achieved tangible success in one state or another, this can be attributed to the state of inaction the national forces are going through and to the total paralysis of the Arab nation in facing fateful challenges.

The Arab arena is open to all forces and all movements and survival is for the fittest; survival is for the forces that hold a realistic view and can offer a definite solution to the intractable problems plaguing the Arabs. The Arab's problem is not belief or non-belief in God or the application or non-application of the Islamic Shari'ah, for these are self-evident matters known to all, young and old. Our problem is the Zionist occupation of Palestine, the state of divisiveness and subordination, and the state of cultural and economic backwardness. Any diagnosis of the Arab nation's ills that ignores these maladies will fail to prescribe a curative remedy.

Our Arab nation has conclusively and categorically determined that the national movement is its vanguard and its hope for salvation as well as its only tool that can steer the ship to safe havens and can realize the Arabs' dreams of liberation, unity, freedom, and a better future.

## EGYPT

### Social Liberalism Considered Road to Political Stability

90AA0219A Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 22 Jun 90 p 6

[Article by al-Sayyid Yasin: "The Liberal Option and Political Stability"]

[Excerpt]

#### Present Situation in Egypt

What is the present situation in Egypt, after we made this long tour of the struggle between liberalism and socialism? We live, in all certainty, in an international climate governed by conciliation between ideas, values, societies, and political systems.

Hence, the naive call for unrestricted liberalism on the economic or policy level becomes an assault on this international climate and counter to the spirit of the age. At the same time, the call for socialism in its traditional form has become a call incompatible with the movement of contemporary history.

The challenge is that the middle positions are altogether the hardest positions!

You can be a fervent liberal or a fighting socialist, but if you were asked to reconsider some of your philosophical or political premises and submit to the logic of compromise solutions between contrasts, you might find it extremely difficult to do, because we have become accustomed to distinguishing between black and white only.

But the moment of truth has come! It is up to those who believe that liberalism is the solution, in the sense of releasing unlimited individual initiative, even if it reaches the bounds of deviation and pillage, or eliminating the public sector for the sake of encouraging the private sector, or selling our assets to any foreign or Egyptian person whomsoever, for they really are proving

by making these naive and frantic appeals that they are far from understanding the spirit of the era.

The same is true of those who rightly or wrongly defend the public sector, for their claims are shot down by the larger developments in the world of the economy today, the most important condition of which is that the measure of productivity, profiteering, excellence of products, and the capacity for international competition have become general measures which apply in the east and the west. Hence, defending the bureaucracy of the public sector in failing companies has no justification.

Whatever the case, the outlines of the political options presented in Egypt now have become clear after the political, economic, and social struggle that took place in Egypt in recent decades after the advent of the economic open-door policies and the beginning of political pluralism. We can quite clearly reject a number of these political options if we submit them to the tests of the good of society, modernism of practices, and conformity with the new international climate. Those who claim that Islam is the solution and who call for the Islamization of everything: the economy through investment companies, politics through calling for the Shurah and the caliphate, and society thorough imprisoning women—half of society—in the house, and in the sciences by setting up Islamic natural sciences as well as Islamic social sciences in response to the "atheistic" sciences which the west produced. This Islamic option, which raises Islam as an enigmatic slogan, is rejected, however loudly its champions may shout out [claims] that they represent the majority of the people.

In our estimation, the political option of the champions of political authoritarianism among those who reject political pluralism and talk about nationalization and central planning in the terms of the 1960s is not realistic and has no connection with what is happening in the world.

As for the champions of absolute liberalism, they have proved that they have failed to follow developments inside western liberal thinking itself!

What remains then?

The one option remaining is social liberalism, if the phrase is correct, which combines political freedom and social justice under the auspices of a strong state that has the keys to lead and guide social development, a state that permits a strong civil society and does not fear it but encourages it and prompts it to grow.

The principal question remains: a strong state, yes, but expressive of any classes? And adopting any plan?

We say a state expressive of all classes of the Egyptian people within the framework of maintaining a just balance between the interests of the various classes and a new cultural plan which would blend well common cultural elements and economic and social aspects—a cultural plan for all Egyptians without distinction on the

basis of religion, which does not just have some political power as much as its directives are in the interest of a broad national dialogue and within the framework of positive interaction between Egypt and its great Arab neighbors.

Organizing this national dialogue and respecting its directives is the essential preamble for political stability in Egypt.

### **Shaykh of Al-Azhar on Islamic Political Party, Extremism**

90AA0231B Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic  
4 Jul 90 pp 6-7

[Interview With Shaykh Jad 'Ali Jad al-Haqq, the Shaykh of Al-Azhar, by Hasan 'Allam: "In an Important Interview With AKHIR SA'AH, the Shaykh of Al-Azhar Says, 'I Do Not Approve of Establishing a Religious Party in Egypt; I Am Calling for Public Punishment of Those Who Jeopardize Security in Mecca; Religious Institutions Did Not Fail To Confront Extremist Thinking; Harsher Penalties for Addicts Are Called For';" in the shaykh's home in al-Manyal, Cairo; date of interview not specified]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

#### **I Do Not Approve of a Religious Party**

The interview continues with his eminence the great imam, the shaykh of al-Azhar. The interview, which took place in the shaykh's home in the suburb of al-Manyal, touched upon important, topical political issues. The revered man of the cloth is not reluctant to answer any question, no matter how sensitive it is.

[AKHIR SA'AH] Some people are calling for the establishment of a religious party in Egypt. What do you think about that?

[Jad al-Haqq] Political parties as we know them today were not known in the early days of Islam. There is, however, nothing in the Koran or the prophetic tradition that prohibits differences of opinion about matters which occur in society. We go too far when we find in these differences the justification for establishing political parties.

Political parties, to start with, are established because each party wants to pursue a different course to achieve what may be the political, economic, or social reform of society. Political parties may also want to achieve political, economic, and social reform, but religion in and of itself is not one of the objectives for which a party would be established because religion rules over everybody. Religion is not a partisan objective: it is not something for which a party would be established because all Muslims are being called upon to become the party of Islam.

[AKHIR SA'AH] Your Eminence, do you then reject the establishment of a religious party in Egypt?

[Jad al-Haqq] If that is its goal and if that is its name.

[AKHIR SA'AH] Given the circumstances our country is going through, your eminence, how can extremist thinking be confronted in this day and age? Quite frankly, did religious institutions in Egypt, including al-Azhar, do what they were supposed to do to enlighten young radicals and to give them a proper understanding of the provisions of Islam so that they would eventually spurn extremism?

Shaykh al-Azhar spoke candidly.

[Jad al-Haqq] If we know where this extremist thinking came from, we will be able to determine whether or not religious institutions did their duty. Where does this thinking come from? Have its origins been narrowed down? Have they been brought under control? Agencies that are concerned with these matters are required to come up with answers to these questions.

To say that those who are responsible for spreading the word about Islam have done less than their duty or have neglected their duty is to overstep proper bounds. Those people carry out their responsibilities everywhere: in mosques, schools, clubs, and in all social institutions of different names. Even in penal institutions, they spread the word about Islam, and they talk about what is proper in Islam which opposes such extremist ideas. The fact of the matter, however, is that these people who have been described as extremists are not among those who can be reached by advice from the proponents of Islam because in most cases they stayed away from meeting religious scholars. The matter then requires that meetings be arranged between these people and religious scholars. We also need to find out what the origins of these ideas they espouse are and where they come from. We need to study these ideas, not just the general aspects of them, but rather the particulars so that religious scholars can confront their proponents with proper opinions and with proper evidence as well.

#### **Where These Groups' Ideas Come From**

[AKHIR SA'AH] The great imam talks about the "origins" of the ideas, to which these extremist Islamic groups subscribe, as though they were unknown. But every Muslim who has been following the Islamic movement knows that these people's ideas are derived from ibn-Taymiyah and ibn-Qiyam al-Jawziyah. Why haven't religious scholars devoted themselves to studying the ideas which these people derive from those extremists, and why haven't they responded to them? Once "a diagnosis" is made, treatment becomes easier.

[Jad al-Haqq] I believe that if the origins of this radical thinking are limited to books by these two imams, then the only reason for considering these books a source of danger is that their contents have been misunderstood. These two imams are men of jurisprudence and thought who lived in an age of considerable civil strife and dissent. Such circumstances required them to deliver special independent opinions which should not be taken as rules of jurisprudence. Those who derive such ideas from these books make no distinction between matters that are "dated" because they are products of their own

time and circumstances and matters that are fundamental and absolute in Islam. This is where those people misunderstand the imams' independent opinions, but they brand every Muslim a dissident because of a trivial matter. In fact, they repudiate every Muslim they disagree with and use against him all those expressions which they came up with and which we hear about. That is why they have to learn more about the principles of Islam. They have to learn more about proper Islamic thought which is derived from the Koran and the prophetic tradition. [passage omitted]

**First Company Created Under New Investment Law**  
90AA0219B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT  
in Arabic 29 Jun 90 p 12

[Article by Muhammad al-Sutuhi: "Dallah And al-Barakah Companies Participate in Setting Up First Establishment Under New Egyptian Investment Law"]

[Text] With capital subscription to the al-Multaqi al-'Arab Investment Company completely covered, it has become the first company founded under the new investment law [number] 230 for the year 1989.

Husayn 'Annan, the deputy chairman of the board of directors of the company, said that the capital of the licensed company is valued at about 600 million Egyptian pounds, and its source capital is valued at about 123 million Egyptian pounds, of which the founders provided 60 percent and public subscription provided 40 percent, which, in fact, was covered in less than 10 days.

He mentioned that the two companies al-Barakah and the Dallah Group have the largest share in the capital of the new company, since the Dallah International holding company has about 350,900 shares valued at about \$6,818,324. Likewise, the Saudi state group owns 179,500 shares valued at about \$3,487,857. Husayn 'Annan said that the company is active in all fields of investment, whether industrial or agricultural, land reclamation and utilization, and the development of animal and fish resources, real estate, and tourism.

A number of the projects in which the company is participating have begun production, including the Minafarm Company for medicines whose product will be on the market in the beginning of 1991. The Multaqui Investment Company had about 28 percent of the total capital of that company, as well as 12 percent of the capital of the Gold Star of Egypt Company for electronics, which is among the projects providing for television manufacturing and whose product will be available in the second half of 1991. The company also has 16.6 percent of the capital of the al-Barakah National Company for iron and steel whose annual production capacity amounts to about 210,000 tons of reinforcement iron and sections.

With regard to the aims and strategy of the new company, Husayn 'Annan said that the al-Multaqi al-'Arab Company is eager for its projects to be in conformity

with the Egyptian plan for economic development so as to achieve integration with the existing industries, which is what supports the balance of payments of the state by producing substitutes for imports and increasing the volume of exports, while providing for new opportunities for work and the growth of skills and for the transfer of advanced technology. He said, "We want the projects to be relatively small or medium-sized, and we want to achieve an increased demand for the products of the company in the local and Arab markets, relying as much as possible on the requisites of local production."

He added; "It is natural that investment take place within the framework of the Arab states, for this means supporting the general economic situation of the area and putting it on a competitive level in an era in which a number of big economic blocs have begun to appear in the surrounding areas. Consequently it is imperative on us all to cooperate in order for there to be an economic unit able to use our natural human and financial resources in the best way possible."

Concerning the al-Multaqi al-'Arab Company's future plans and whether it will offer its shares on the securities market during the next stage, Husayn 'Annan explained, "The (source) capital of the company, valued at 123 million Egyptian pounds is completely covered. Upon completion of its investment, we will try to get new capital to invest in some projects that we will share in setting up. This let us achieve the goal of having the small investor enter into the investment field with small sums. Likewise, after the projects are set up and are successful and realize a profit, consideration will be given to submitting their shares for sale on the securities market and thereby the Egyptian investor can participate in existing projects that are already successful. Through the proceeds of the sale of these shares, we will also be able to set up new projects and safeguard securities, while we continue to set up new projects." Concerning the investment climate in Egypt now, especially after the issuance of new investment law No. 230 for the year 1989, Husayn 'Annan asserted: "The current policy in Egypt is to try to create propitious circumstances and a suitable climate for investment. We hope that the full measures for the provisions of the new law will be taken so that all obstacles or erroneous procedures will vanish, the investors will be reassured, and their investments in Egypt will increase. I suggest that one simplify the measures and limit the many committees and boards that waste much time and effort in obtaining agreements or licensing and that there be a more flexible way to deal with investors in customs with regard to the entry of materials, etc., for it represents a procedural obstacle."

**Columnist Speculates on Results of Gulf Crisis**  
90P40112A Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI  
in Arabic 16 Aug 90 p 14

[Editorial by Anis Mansur]

[Text] Israel, in spite of its readiness on the ground, in the air, and at sea, will not throw a single brick at Iraq. This is not an act of restraint or politeness, God forbid,

but the United States will do all that it wants and more, striking at factories, military concentrations, and bases. The bombardment will be heavy from British, Spanish, Italian, Turkish, Israeli, and Arab bases.

American influence will increase in the region and the American blow will lead to disagreements among the Arabs and to their loss of faith in their leaders and of hope for peace. Such disagreements lead to the revival of old wounds, to the desire by some to get revenge on others, to recalling the past, and to an absorption in regret for what was. Fortune will turn against them, and they will have nothing except the far and recent past, without a future.

Israel is beating us to life in the 21st century; the immigrants who landed there from Russia have saved it dozens of years of growth and development and billions [of dollars], and have pushed it far into the future.

In America itself, Americans will curse Bush and the day they elected him. The Americans have a Vietnam complex and the afflictions of defending the yellow peoples in Asia. They did not succeed, these people did not become independent, and they did not thank the Americans for what they had offered them. This time, America is defending the Saudi people, and in fact it is pushing the fire away from the [oil] wells. It has succeeded but its loss of moral strength all over the world is tremendous. This is a new win for Gorbachev at Bush's expense.

I don't claim that I know all that is happening in Israel, but this is an inference. At the same time, it is possible that Israel also wants to deceive the world, and America first and foremost, the idea of its leaders being to share the cake with America by striking a blow on its behalf because Iraq had muddied the water of the Euphrates River in the place where their and our forefather Ibrahim [Abraham], peace be on him, lived in the village of Ur. This is a strong reason for hitting Iraq.

All of these are fantasies, ramblings, and ravings. God is most knowing, merciful and honorable.

## IRAQ

### Article Analyzes Iraq's Pan-Arab Priorities, Strategy

90AE0178A Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic  
25 Jun 90 pp 1, 15

[Article by Hamidah Na'na: "Historic Dilemma"]

[Text] Paris—If Iraq's victory is as big as the challenges facing the Arab nation, then the resulting pan-Arab responsibilities shouldered by Iraq have motivated President Saddam Husayn to repeat for the second time in two months his warning to "Israel" not to commit a folly against any Arab country. It is in this sense that we can understand the president's recent address to the Islamic conference held in Baghdad, and it is in this direction

that we understand from the details of the address the significance of Saddam Husayn being a history maker and not just an instrument in history's hand. He does not engage in maneuvers and does not make threats. As a statesman and as a responsible leader, he views the future as a teacher building a bridge between Iraq's experience in recent years and his vision of the nation's future. Contrary to the naive interpretations that western analysts try to give the address, explaining it as a response to the formation of the new "Israeli" cabinet, the president's speech, though taking this fact into consideration, came in response to an assessment of the positions and their interactions and to a rearrangement of the priorities of the new phase of the nation's history. These priorities seem to be as follows:

First, the Arab nation's security is a whole that cannot be separated from the security of each of the nation's countries. Consequently, what was said in the 2 April address is not passing words. Rather, what was said constitutes a clear strategy connected with Iraq's readiness to defend its security and the Arab nation's security, regardless of the bilateral disputes of this or that regime, because this security is the peoples' security and because Iraq, in its strategic vision, overlooks all disagreements.

Second, reminding anew that the pan-Arab movement is an indivisible part of Islam and that any separation of Arabism from Islam is a failure to understand the course of Arab history. There is no contradiction between Arabism and Islam. The Arab nation managed to carry Islam's message and to spread it gradually. In this regard, the address reaffirmed the words of Michel 'Aflaq, the founding leader.

They say that the "Arabs became known through Islam and they forget that the Arabs are the ones who carried and spread Islam's message." What the president's address said is an endeavor to answer tendencies in the Arab homeland and outside it which try to separate pan-Arabism from Islam on the pretext that the pan-Arabist tendency has been defeated by the challenges that have faced the Arabs in their modern history. The fact of the Iraqi victory indisputably confirms that pan-Arabism has not been defeated but has repelled from the region the biggest danger to which the region would have been subjected had Iran triumphed, namely the danger of dividing the nation into inter-fighting factions, groups, and sects that may not be able to overcome their problems for decades.

Third, Iraq's reaffirmation of its determination to use its defense capabilities against Tel Aviv if the latter decides to embark on any adventure seems to be a necessity under this circumstance because prior to 2 April 1990, the international arena was prepared for a major operation aimed at restoring the Arab region to the condition under which it lived when Lebanon was invaded in 1982, even to a weaker and a more confused condition. The



campaign against Iraq, launched with the Bazoft story and with the preludes preceding and following it, was an attempt to create an international climate for implementing this operation through the Zionist entity because from the viewpoint of the United States and of its allies, the shape of the region's future depends on the form this entity's movement takes. Until 2 April, Israel had in its hand the main cards to the conflict game, meaning the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan, and all of Jerusalem. Despite the successive peace initiatives which reached the limit of accepting resolutions 242 and 338 and of willingness to enter into direct dialogue with "Israel," Tel Aviv rejected all this politically and put the Arabs face to face with the dilemma of responding, keeping in mind that it is impossible for the Arab response to be political because, with the failure of the political initiatives, there remained nothing but force. The Zionist entity has even tried to monopolize [the right to] such a response on the pretext that Iraq possesses strategic weapons and has developed its defense capabilities. The Zionist entity counts these developments as a danger threatening its future. Therefore, Iraq must be dealt a blow either directly or through Jordan, Syria, or the intifadah [uprising]. If dealt, such a blow is likely to reshuffle the cards. Subsequently, Tel Aviv will be able to overcome the crisis that the intifadah has put it in and will solve the problem of its international isolation. Should the blow against Iraq succeed, the Zionist entity will be entrenched as an unrivaled regional power in the area because it possesses not only conventional military power but the nuclear weapon as well. Even if this weapon is not used, it will have a political, psychological, and military influence which will enable the Zionist entity to dictate the peace it wants. It seems that the peace this entity wants in this phase is all the occupied territories in return for something that is less than peace and in preparation for a future phase whose dimensions nobody can now realize.

But the operation has not been carried out and what has helped to prevent its implementation and to abort the scheme is the Iraqi leadership's vigilance and its ability to manage the struggle under this critical international circumstance. The 2 April address was clear and frank and it brought about a historic transformation in the conflict balances when it emphasized that Iraq's strategic force is, in its leadership's view, nothing but a force for Arab security. This force is capable of confronting the challenge under the umbrella of a new international condition that has not yet assumed its final shape.

The failure to execute the blow against Iraq has put everybody in a dilemma. "Israel" is now in a dilemma that has produced the most rightist and fanatic government in its history since the creation of the Zionist entity and until the present. The United States is in a dilemma. Britain is in a dilemma, and some local parties are in a dilemma because they have all been confronted with a condition that they had not taken into account.

Instead of diminishing Iraq's pan-Arab role and ousting Iraq from the current equations of force in the Middle

East's political-military map for years to come and until the map of the balances of the international forces powers becomes clear, Iraq has been able to turn the equation in favor of the Arab force in the following manner:

It has succeeded in mobilizing the Arab masses, whether through the reactions to the address or through the popular conferences held in Baghdad.

It succeeded in convening the Arab summit in Baghdad prior to the Gorbachev-Bush summit. The Arab summit has discussed all the challenges confronting the Arabs currently, beginning with the Soviet Jewish immigration which constitutes at present the most serious challenge to Arab security and ending with the Arabs' right to acquire the technology and weaponry that help them defend their security.

It has asserted that the current balances of military forces in the area have changed obviously. This is a historic strategic change because Israel can no longer use the nuclear weapons it possesses by virtue of the fact that Iraq possesses a different type of weapon to answer the nuclear weapons. These Iraqi weapons are a guarantee for pan-Arab security in the face of the Zionist entity.

The endeavor to start dialogue with Iran through the initiative of sending a message to the Iranian leadership asserts Iraq's wish to resolve any Arab-Iranian disputes peacefully.

All these facts have not yet led to an end to this campaign against Iraq but have made it more ferocious. The continued campaign is due to the fact that those who are behind it realize that they have failed to achieve what they had sought to achieve. On its part, Iraq has tried to make its position clear, without making concessions. It has sent the UN secretary general a message expressing its readiness to make the region devoid of destructive strategic weapons. But these initiatives have passed without a pause from the western media to consider them. Rather, these media have continued to attack Iraq to cover up the scheme's failure.

As for "Israel," the response it gave the Arab position in the summit's wake was to form the most fanatic, rightist, and anti-peace government in its history. This government may now work to solve some of the existing problems (absorb Soviet Jewish immigration) but it will intensify Israel's historical dilemma.

## ISRAEL

### Possible Changes in Status of Israeli Arabs

90AE0189C Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew  
25 May 90 p 1B

[Article by Ze'ev Schiff]

[Text] The disturbances in the Arab sector in Israel have strongly highlighted negative trends occurring among the



Arab minority. Since the outbreak of the uprising in the territories, a plague has struck the Arabs of Israel. What existed prior to December will not return, and the negative trends among these minorities will apparently deepen unless there is a breakthrough in the peace process. The continuation of the occupation and the bloody confrontation in the territories will ultimately shift the plague of the violent contest within the borders of the state of Israel and its Arab minority.

The Arabs of Israel identify with the intifadah. However, this has not been expressed by their massive aid of violent acts. They are helping their brothers acquire firearms. Organizations such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and Ahmad Jibril's organization are inciting the Arabs of Israel to commit violent acts. However, the centrist current in the PLO has refrained from such incitement, as it is more desirous of political support inside Israel at present. Nonetheless, there has been a sharp increase in the number of attacks in Israel, from 70 attacks in 1987, to 240 in 1988, and 210 in 1989. (Most of these attacks involved arson, gasoline bombs, and the destruction of property). Hundreds of nationalistic incidents should also be added, and it should be emphasized that a substantial portion of these attacks were carried out by Arabs from the territories staying in Israel.

Negative trends that have existed for some time were accelerated by the intifadah. Experts say that identification with the state on the part of the Arabs of Israel, especially the identification of the younger generation, has weakened. Many of this group argue that Israel does not want them. Parallel with nationalistic identification with the goals of the PLO, there has been a major trend toward religious extremism among them. Fears have doubled, because several of these negative trends are gnawing at the two groups that have been considered the most loyal, the bedouin and the Druze. This is more prominent among the bedouin in the Negev, and it is reflected by a trend toward religious extremism in elections and by constant disturbances. Among the Druze, the situation is less serious. However, last year, the Druze sector held a strike for the first time, claiming that it is discriminated against, even in comparison to the other minorities. Indeed, the promises made to the Druze community remain largely on paper. It is no surprise that the other communities are arguing that the state discriminates against them intentionally. In this regard, Israel has failed decisively. Most of the promises that were made to the Arab minority were discovered to be empty of content.

Suddenly, it becomes clear that the Communist Party is now considered a moderate and restraining element among the Arab minority, in relation to the other parties. This situation will not continue for long, because HADASH [Democratic Movement for Peace and Equality] will be compelled to align itself more with the extremists. The position of Jews in the mixed [Jewish-Arab] parties is weak. All of the parties (HADASH, the Democratic Party, and the Progressive List for Peace)

are subject to one or another crisis. However, this is not the case regarding the Islamic groups. As is known, they won the mayorship of a city, four local councils, and a third of the seats on the municipal council in Nazareth. These groups do not deal solely with municipal and religious affairs. Their hidden ideology claims that all of Palestine must be Islamic. In other words, there is no basis for a political compromise. It is no surprise that relations have already developed between Hamas [Islamic resistance movement] and several of the Islamic groups in Israel.

In addition, the PLO's penetration of the Arab minority is growing, and connections with it are being institutionalized and brought into the open. The PLO is channeling funds to several parties, local authorities, newspapers, and different institutions. By contrast, the Islamic current solicits contributions abroad from Islamic organizations (a delegation of Islamic local council heads went on a fund-raising campaign in the United States). Competing with the injection of funds is difficult, because the state is unable to do so, and it does not always want to help the Arab minority.

The feeling of inequality has created yet another dangerous process: The decisive majority of the Arabs of Israel support a settlement that calls for a Palestinian state next to Israel. However, some also say that the Arabs of Israel have no chance of ever integrating into Israel. Those who claim that the attempt has failed, have begun to talk, albeit in a whisper at present, of the need to grant the Arabs of Israel special institutional status within the state, a sort of preparation for autonomy in which the Arabs would have their own institutions. This could be preparation for apartheid and irredentism. These voices will certainly become louder to the extent that the intifadah continues and Israel's deterrent power declines.

The concept that the Arabs of Israel could serve as a bridge between the Palestinians and the state has proved invalid. However, it should not be concluded from this that the Arab minority does not have an important, albeit different, role in the conflict. If the Arab minority bows to those inciting it to duplicate the intifadah in Israel, two things will happen: Voices will be raised saying that it is necessary to constrain the steps of the Arab minority and to diminish its rights, including the right to vote for the Knesset. Democracy has so far defended the Arabs of Israel and opened political possibilities for them. Therefore, they must be extremely careful not to upset democracy and the law, even if they feel, justifiably, discriminated against and frustrated. Secondly, the rightist camp will argue that the struggle is everything. If the Palestinians want Haifa and Wadi 'Ara, why should the territories be conceded? Therefore, the extent to which there will be a willingness in the future in Israel to compromise on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip depends greatly on the Arabs of Israel.

**Perceived Weaknesses May Encourage Arabs to War***90AE0189D Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew  
25 May 90 p 1B*

[Article by 'Aqiba' Eldar]

[Text] Yitzhaq Shamir is right: There are no grounds for connecting the massacre of Arab workers in Rish'on Letziyon, and the bloody incidents that accompanied it, with the freeze in the Middle East peace process. Moshe Arens is also right in saying that there is no connection between the affair of the Christian Quarter [the occupation of St. John's Hospice by Jewish settlers] and the status of the peace initiative. Nor is the peace initiative connected to the settlement of immigrants from the Soviet Union in Dugit, a settlement on the other side of the green line, or to the provocation at the Tomb of Joseph. It is precisely the weak connection between this loose stitch of events, which angered Washington, and the political initiative that strongly highlights the scar left by Shamir's "no" to James Baker. Baker's old friend, George Bush, needs no evidence of the connection between 'Ami Pofar from Rish'on Letziyon [who perpetrated the massacre of Arab workers] and the peace process.

In an unusual statement this week, President Bush emphasized that it is not enough to regret the incident, and to call for restraint, "but that it is vital to treat the political issues at the heart of the conflict in the region." In expressing hope for the speedy establishment of a government in Israel that would be able to make decisions regarding peace matters, Bush strongly signalled that as long as the process is stuck somewhere in the recesses of Israel politics, the administration will seek to place the blame on Israel.

Yitzhaq Rabin has argued that the world will not pardon us for the massacre in Rish'on Letziyon, but no one has blamed, not even by allusion, the government of Egypt for the murder [of Israelis] committed by a deranged [Egyptian] soldier at Ra's-Burqah [in the Sinai Peninsula]. This is true, but there is no place for charges that Egypt is not doing enough to cool the tense atmosphere in the region.

In response to a question posed by Yerah Tal ("Interview of the Day," HA'ARETZ 23 May) regarding the reason for the current erosion in support for Israel, Republican Senator Rudy Boshowitz did not mention the massacre in Rish'on Letziyon, settlements, or the Christian quarter. The senator, among Israel's staunchest friends on Capital Hill, pointed only to the disappointed hope that Shamir would actualize the peace initiative to which the United States had given its blessing.

Bush and Boshowitz know that Shamir is currently preoccupied with negotiating the formation of a coalition and is not given to political negotiations regarding the peace process. In more ordinary times, there was room for asking friends of this sort to please wait a few

more days, at the most another two weeks, especially as Shamir declares morning and night his commitment to the peace initiative of 14 May 1989. The impatience that Washington has expressed, mainly since Shamir received a mandate to form a new government, indicates a lack of faith in the ability and/or desire of a Shamir government to create conditions for a dialogue between Israel and the Palestinians.

Although the United States censured Israel for the heavy-handedness that it displayed following last week's disturbances, it was possible to cling to the past, which teaches that relations between the two countries have withstood more difficult tests than these. It was also possible to hope that this incident would be forgotten in time, and that the international media would again tire of the intifadah.

This week, the most senior circles in the administration and Congress acknowledged three basic assumptions:

a. The United States does not intend to tire of treating the conflict in the Middle East. According to a new position paper published by the Davis Institute at the Hebrew University, the Americans estimate that substantial progress toward solving the Palestinian problem will be neutralized or arrested by other tension in the Middle East. Researchers at the institute believe that the United States is very interested in improving its relations with Iraq, Syria, and even with Iran, and that the continued freeze in the process of solving the Palestinian problem is posing many problems for the Americans, who fear that a deterioration will lead to a chemical, biological, or nuclear war, as well as the implications of such a war.

b. If Israel compels the Americans to retreat from their efforts to bring about a dialogue between the adversaries, the Americans would not hesitate to extract the full price in the diverse terms offered by relations between the two countries (based on the model of George Shultz, who permitted dialogue with the PLO in response to Israel's thwarting of his initiative of early 1988).

Robert Dole's attack fell on fertile ground in the American capital.

Yoram Ettinger, the attache for congressional affairs in Israel's embassy in Washington, indicated in a report to Jerusalem that the administration estimates that the erosion in Israel's image makes it possible to wage a systematic campaign against it, and that this erosion gives licence to many elements in Congress, who have so far been restrained in their criticism of Israel. According to Ettinger, it is said in Congress that Jewish constituents are not writing and telephoning their congressional representatives as in the past. In recent years, the influence of Jews has declined, being supplanted by that of Afro-Americans and Hispanics.

This is the background to the threats of war mentioned this week by President Mubarak. Israel is depicted in the eyes of its neighbors, and not just Egypt, as being

involved in a conflict with itself and its best friends. There is a fear that Israel's neighbors will translate this weakness into violent terms. Researchers at the Davis Institute caution that, if hostilities break out, "Israel would find itself compelled to obtain the help of the United States at a higher price than the price it is currently refusing to pay."

## JORDAN

### New Coalition To Face Islamic Movement

90AE0213A Paris AL-YAWM AL-SABI' in Arabic  
30 Jul 90 pp 16-17

[Article by Badr 'Abd-al-Haqq: "Jordanian Leftist Front To Preserve Democracy and Counterbalance the Islamic Movement"]

[Text] The Jordanian Arab National Democratic Grouping [JANDG] is a new political force whose formation has been announced in the Hashimite kingdom. Those responsible for this grouping have attempted to counterbalance the Islamic movement and preserve the democratic thrust in Jordan.

On Sunday afternoon, 22 July 1990, the establishment of a new Jordanian political organization was announced. It bears the name "the Jordanian Arab National Democratic Grouping." It aspires to unite leftist, Marxist, and independent nationalist forces in the framework of a front able to create a balance between the political power of the Islamic movement, which has a majority in parliament, and the forces of the left, which during recent parliamentary elections failed to agree on a united program of action, thus weakening their chances to gain seats in parliament.

The new grouping includes representatives from the Jordanian Communist Party, the Democratic People's Party (HASHD), the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine Party (Jordanian organization), the Ba'th Party, and a number of independents.

Forty party and independent figures signed the announcement of the establishment of the JANDG. Among the most prominent of them were: Ibrahim Bakr, MP [Member of Parliament] Faris al-Nabulsi, Bahjat Abu-Gharbiyah, Mahmud al-Mu'aytah, Amal Naffa', Mashhur Hadithah al-Jazi, Dr. Hasan Khurays, Fa'iq Warrad, Ya'qub Ziyadin, MP Mansur Sayf-al-Din Murad, Chairman Walid 'Abd-al-Hadi of the Lawyers' Union, MP Fakhri Qa'war, MP 'Isa Madanat, Dr. Nabih Mu'ammam, MP Bassam Haddadin, MP Dr. Dhib Marji, MP Dr. Hasan al-Shayyab, 'Azmi al-Khawaja, Taysir al-Zubari, Ibrahim Abu-'Ayyash, Mu'nis al-Razzaz, Salim al-Nahhas, Hamdi Matar, 'Abd-al-Rahim 'Umar, Dr. Mamduh al-'Ibadi, Salih Qallab, and Chairman Hashim Khuraysat of the Jordanian Journalists' Union.

The establishment of the JANDG was announced at a crowded meeting held in the Trade Unions Building in

Amman. Dr. Mamduh al-'Ibadi, general secretary of the new grouping, read the text of the announcement of the formation of the JANDG.

The lengthy 11-page statement deals with the reasons and circumstances that called for the establishment of the JANDG and presents detailed working programs in the political, economic, social, and cultural areas.

The preamble of the announcement indicates that Jordan faces an extremely difficult period for many reasons, particularly the danger of the severe financial and economic crisis stemming from the size of foreign and domestic debts. This has led to a sharp drop in the people's standard of living. Public- and private-sector worker's salaries have eroded due to the drop in the value of the Jordanian dinar against other currencies. Prices of locally-produced and imported goods have therefore risen, leading to the spread of unemployment, increased numbers of people laid off from work, the development of the phenomenon of poverty, and an approximation to some of the phenomena of famine.

The announcement also points to the drying-up of the official Arab monetary assistance that used to be given to Jordan. As a consequence, state treasury income has shrunk, and there is a deficit in the budget and balance of payments. This has greatly reduced the government's ability to make capital expenditures for development, on the one hand, and has forced it to follow an austerity policy, on the other hand.

As for the political and military challenges confronting Jordan and the region, the announcement deals with the acquisition and monopolization of governing power in Israel by the forces of Zionist extremism. This means that aggressive Israeli military operations may be undertaken against Jordan, Iraq, and Syria to destroy Arab military and economic targets and annex more Arab land. The goal would also be to suppress the Palestinian intifadah and attack the entire Arab Palestinian presence in Palestine, thus opening the gates to forced mass deportations to neighboring Arab countries, particularly Jordan and Lebanon. It would thus become possible to absorb several million of the Soviet Jews who are emigrating to Palestine daily.

To defend and protect Jordan from Zionist ambitions, the announcement proposes two important points:

First, strengthening national unity and supporting the domestic front by stressing Arab nationalism as the firm foundation for national unity and a strong domestic front on the one hand, and for effective Arab solidarity on the other hand.

Second, establishing an eastern front comprising Jordan, Syria, Iraq, the PLO, and any other Arab state that wishes the join an eastern front to achieve an Arab national security capable of confronting the imperial American-Zionist alliance and defeating its hostile policy toward the Arab nation in general and the cause of the Arab Palestinian people in particular.

The announcement calls for rejecting and scuttling the American-Israeli proposals to settle the Arab-Israeli struggle, including the Shamir-Baker proposal, because these are based on the capitulatory Camp David decisions and start from nonrecognition of the Arab Palestinian people as a single people inside and outside Palestine. Furthermore, they presuppose that this people does not have the right to return to its homeland of Palestine or the right to self-determination and the establishment of a Palestinian state on the soil of Palestine.

The announcement also calls for commitment to the unity of the Palestinian people at home and abroad, with renewed stress on the PLO as sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, so as to guarantee its inalienable patriotic and national right to return, determine its destiny, and establish an independent Palestinian state.

In the Arab context, the announcement deals with the issue of Arab unity. The JANDG will establish close relations of cooperation with Arab political groupings and parties in everything that will serve Arab issues. It will work together to achieve democratically based Arab unity, taking into consideration the objective characteristics of each Arab country. The announcement also calls for promoting Arab culture and adherence to the system of noble values drawn from the heritage of Arab-Islamic culture that is open to world culture.

#### Jordanian Issues

The announcement stresses strengthening the democratic path in Jordan. It stresses that the requirements of the supreme national interest demand a return to following the formula of a national front. Those who signed the announcement believe that a front coalition—a grouping nationalist in content and democratic in path, including various parties, political figures, and trade-union, professional, workers', and cultural organizations, and composed generally of men and women citizens—is the foundation for work toward an active partnership to confront the difficult period which Jordan is experiencing.

The announcement defines the JANDG's main task as working to direct a united effort to achieve the following goals by peaceful, constitutional means:

- Strengthening, protecting, and preventing circumvention of the democratic process by the following measures:

1. Repealing the 1934 defense law and replacing it with a modern defense law that does not hamper citizen rights or infringe upon their constitutionally provided duties.

2. Repealing the 5 June 1967 cabinet resolution proclaiming martial law and all directives derived from it.

3. Repealing the 1986 parliamentary elections law because of the unconstitutional provisions it contains and replacing it with an elections law that adheres in letter and spirit to the provisions of the constitution and that is in harmony with the democratic path.

4. Repealing the restrictions that have come to exist on rights to equality before the law, personal freedom and security, the inviolability of the home, freedom of opinion, journalism, and the press, the formation of political parties, groupings, and trade unions, the privacy of correspondence by mail, telegram, and telephone conversations, and the filling of public positions and offices on the basis of abilities, qualifications, and equality of opportunity.

5. Repealing all regulations of an extraordinary nature that have been allowed to intrude into the normal laws. On the one hand, such regulations deprive individual citizens and groups of rights; on the other hand, they eliminate judicial oversight.

- Setting an economic policy to raise the national economy by the following means:

1. Abandoning the IMF/World Bank "school" and breaking its grip on the setting of economic policy. This school has been responsible for distorting the structure of the national economy and for wasting a large part of Arab aid money to Jordan.

2. Preserving and rationalizing the public sector, so that it operates on business principles. One should stop hiding the losses of certain public-sector enterprises by granting them exemptions from fees and taxes. They should also cease to receive financial assistance from the treasury. All public-sector companies should be subject to parliamentary oversight.

3. Encouraging the private sector and ending the bureaucratic obstacles that hinder its progress, so that it increases the national product and reduces the waste of foreign currency.

4. Funding small productive projects by allocating between 10 and 15 percent of total financial credits offered by banking and financial companies to the founding of small productive projects in cities, villages, Bedouin areas, and camps and to the rebuilding of the rural economy.

- On the issue of financial corruption, the announcement calls for rooting out corruption and investigating cases of it. Those against whom evidence exists should be brought to trial and convicted if they prove to have committed any crimes of corruption. They should be punished and made to return to the treasury according to the law any illicit money they have obtained.

The announcement also calls for more effective means of oversight, especially parliamentary, judicial, and press oversight. It calls for closing legislative loopholes through which corrupt persons find a way to pilfer public

and private funds under the protection of the umbrella of the defense law and martial law.

- On the issue of austerity, the announcement states that austerity should not be demanded from those with limited incomes, the poor, and the needy, but rather from government ministries, their departments, public establishments, government companies, mixed-sector companies, and big industrial, commercial, and financial corporations. A sales tax should be levied on luxury goods and all forms of lavish consumption.

The announcement of the establishment of the JANDG was preceded by a long period of talks lasting over a year during which ideas, proposals, and programs to be adopted by the JANDG were screened and studied. The main goal desired was to counterbalance the main forces prevailing at the Jordanian grass roots—namely, the force of the Islamic movement which conspicuously swept the results of parliamentary, municipal, student, and trade-union elections.

The first signs of tangible activity have in fact begun in the circles of the new grouping. Preparations are being made to participate in upcoming election activities and campaigns in trade union, student union, and women's union elections, municipal elections, and even in the parliamentary elections three years from now. JANDG members stress unity of stance as a basis for strengthening the grouping's power without rivalry, sabotage, and factionalism. The necessary basis for selecting candidates for any elected position should be talent and desire for public work, ability to perform and serve the people, a positive relation to the voters, and maximum chance for success.

Membership in the JANDG is open to every Jordanian at any time on the basis of the program contained in the announcement of the JANDG's establishment. This represents a minimum program under the bylaws, with the possibility of expanding the program from time to time with the approval of all parties to the grouping. Each participating party will thus preserve its special identity in its program, organization, and activity.

## LIBYA

### **Qadhdhaf-al-Damm Link With Intelligence Denied**

90P40125A London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic  
27 Jul 90 p 13

[Text] In AL-HAWADITH, Issue No. 1758 [13 July 1990, page 12], it was mentioned that Ahmad Qadhdhaf-al-Damm is an official of Libyan intelligence. The truth is that the successful diplomat, who holds serious, important Arab and international posts, has nothing to do with intelligence nor is he engaged in it. Instead, he has a constructive role which he plays at the behest of national leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi.

### **Oil Reserves Reported at 45-50 Billion Barrels**

90AA0226B Tripoli AL-SHATT in Arabic 5 Jun 90 p 2

[Text] AL-SHATT reporter has learned that the Greater Jamahiriya's confirmed oil reserves range from 45-50 billion barrels.

The Greater Jamahiriya extraction rate has ranged from 36-38 percent, which is an acceptable rate. Moreover, some experiments to extract additional quantities have achieved an extraction rate of 76 percent at Field 103 (Intisar) in the Gulf of Sidra.

## MOROCCO

### **Observers See Improved Government-Islamist Relations**

90P40124A London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic  
13 Aug 90 p 7

[Text] Morocco is approaching a clear crossroads in dealing with the Islamic movements. Informed sources say that these crossroads meet at a basic issue, which is the necessity of not opposing the royal throne and royal legitimacy. A number of observers explained the permission for Abdesselam Yacine to hold a meeting with his supporters in one of the mosques of Sale near Rabat, attended by more than 2,000 people, as an indication of a relaxation in the relationship of the Islamic Justice and Charity Movement with Moroccan authorities.

## SAUDI ARABIA

### **Muslims Reportedly Angry With US Soldiers Behavior**

90AE0267A Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew  
19 Aug 90 p 2

[Article by David Regev]

[Text] According to Gaza Strip merchant ('Abd-al-Rassar Nafish), who returned yesterday from Saudi Arabia where he presently resides, U.S. soldiers stationed in Saudi Arabia are angering the Saudi people very much. They often drink alcoholic beverages, which is forbidden according to Islamic laws, and they have been cavorting with Asiatic women residing there. Tafish said that "they understand why the U.S. soldiers came to Saudi Arabia, but they are not willing to accept these doubtful practices they have brought with them. In the last few days, senior Saudi figures have been forced to talk a lot with extremist Muslims to calm them down fearing they they will incite the residents of Saudi Arabia against the soldiers."

## TUNISIA

**Labor Party Idea Gains Support**

90AA0268A Tunis AL-MAWQIF in Arabic  
19 Jul 90 p 2

[Article by Faruq al-Najjar: "Labor Party Plan: What Has Changed Since 1984; Departure of Achour and Ghost of Dualism"]

[Text] The idea of forming a labor party is resurging strongly these days. Even though it has not been presented explicitly and openly, the labor union circles and other outside circles are engaged in numerous debates on the idea.

This idea, which has not yet been turned into a plan with complete features, relies on the political fact that the Labor Federation enjoys in the national arena a popular influence which it derives from its history and struggles and from the fact that its agencies proliferate throughout all the economic sectors and all parts of the country. Some of the plan advocates believe that this popular influence needs to be transformed into channels of participation in the democratic and national struggle in the political arena. Some of them believe that the plan is the ideal solution to overcoming the reality of division under which the democratic forces are living and to stem the erosion of these forces' role in and influence on the course of the political developments.

Unionists and politicians enthusiastic about this plan cite the experience of the European leftist parties, especially the French parties, and the experience of the Far Maghreb where the Democratic Labor Confederation forms the main weight of the People's Forces Socialist Union. They believe that under the umbrella of the growing rivalry between our country's right and left, this formula is capable of breathing new life into the progressive movement that has been tied to the labor thought historically and emotionally.

**Presented by Achour Previously**

This idea's roots perhaps date to the fall of 1983 when the idea was expressed in the context of the unionist leadership's response to the endeavors the government was making to divide the federation. In the wake of a visit which Lahbib Achour, the federation chairman at the time, made to Britain and during which he familiarized himself with the Labor Party experience, he expressed his support for the creation of a labor party while he was chairing the federation's provincial conference in (Zagwan). At the end of December 1983, Hassine Ben Kaddour raised the issue when the federation's Executive Committee met to discuss the issue of unionist division. Ben Kaddour then threatened that the federation may be forced to form a labor party in response to the government's encouragement of the dissidents.

After Lahbib Achour, the federation leader, gave the idea weight when he embraced it in 1984 and 1985, a large

number of mid-level, and even leadership-level, cadres rushed to express their enthusiasm for the plan. Perhaps their enthusiasm developed as a result of their awareness that such a party would be the most effective and fruitful means of opposing the Socialist Destour Party because the unionist action ceiling does not enable this action to absorb the requirements of engaging in open political opposition to the regime, even though the federation action had begun to take at the time a political turn that was committed to fighting oppression and defending the liberties.

It was obvious that Lahbib Achour presented the idea not because of his fondness for what is new and novel but did so in the context of waging the so-called "succession battle." A labor party would have, as a political party, given the unionist leadership a say in running the country's affairs and would have given it the opportunity to participate in influencing the national options under the canopy of the system of party pluralism, superficial as it was.

In 1984, the unionist cadres split into those who supported the idea and those who opposed it and a heated debate ensued on the pages of the press (AL-MAWQIF, November and December 1984) and its echoes reached the foreign press. A union conference was supposed to settle the issue. Lahbib Achour even assured AL-MAWQIF (6 October 1984) that he did not find it unlikely that the issue would be discussed at the conference. A number of labor cadres responded that presenting the plan to the federation conference was not permissible because it, the federation, is a national organization that is independent of all the parties, as underlined by the federation's constitution. Consequently, "no unionist, regardless of his position of responsibility, may touch on the issue within the framework of the federation and of its unionist organizations."

On the other side of this opposition, other unionists expressed enthusiasm for the plan, either from the position of supporting Lahbib Achour's idea or from a leftist position calling for the creation of an independent party for the working class "even if it is reform-minded."

**Conference Decided Negatively**

The federation conference which convened on 15 December 1985 was not eligible to settle the issue because the federation leadership was seeking to maintain its cohesion after the National Federation faction had split away from the federation. That leadership could do without another source of conflict and division. Moreover, the requirements of confronting the regime which was preparing to pounce on the legitimate organizations at the time dictated postponing the issue and refraining from deciding it either negatively or positively. But the practical outcome was abandonment of the plan, especially since the developments in the following years required the legitimate unionists to wage the battle of survival and of self-defense instead of

pondering political alternatives to enable them to play an influential role in the national arena.

With the reemergence of the issue on the page of the current political debate, one cannot but underline the fundamental developments and differences between the current circumstance and the circumstance which prevailed six years ago.

The current phase is witnessing a disintegration of the democratic political forces contrasting with the growth and unity of the fundamentalist movement. This is a condition that poses the threat of the creation of a void between the ruling party and the fundamentalists. From this angle, a labor party's role becomes different because such a party may become the alternative with the capability to offer a democratic option enjoying the credibility, popularity, and voluntarism lacking in the ruling party. This party may turn into the center of weight in the progressive political movement by virtue of the expectation that it will be built on active cadres relying on a broad labor base, which is what the democratic political organizations lack.

The other change in comparison with 1984 is the fact that Lahbib Achour has departed from the labor federation, keeping in mind that Achour, with his charisma and his popularity, could lend weight to the labor party and could rally a large number of leaders and cadres

behind it. Perhaps the expected scenario for creating a labor party under the current circumstances will call for involving young progressive cadres. But the presence of a figure with the weight of Achour who can confront his rivals, even if they are in power, and who can unite the influential elements behind a unified position continues to be an important condition for the success of any initiative to form a labor party.

Therefore, the idea of a labor party enjoys the approval of significant sectors of the democratic public opinion and intellectual elite, especially in light of the growing danger of polarization. It is not unlikely that the idea will receive encouragement and enthusiastic support from the vigilant sectors of the public opinion. But there are numerous pitfalls facing this idea, perhaps the most important of which is the reproduction of past positions adopted by certain segments of the left toward the issue of identity and heritage and the possibility of infiltration of the plan by opportunistic elements considered to be supporters of the regime, thus causing the plan to lose the credibility it needs for its success and making it difficult to develop a collective leadership possessing a political weight and political past that make it eligible to play the role of the unifier so that the party, still in the planning stage, may not be another number added to the existing parties and may not further marginalize and weaken the democratic movement.

## INDIA

**Indians, Pakistanis Ask Simla Accord  
Reactivation***46001711 Madras THE HINDU in English  
27 Jun 90 p 9*

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] Twenty-seven prominent citizens each from India and Pakistan have called upon the two Governments and responsible leaders on either side to avoid 'what can only be a mutually destructive conflict.'

In a joint statement issued simultaneously from New Delhi and Lahore, they wanted their Governments to re-affirm their commitment to a peaceful resolution of all outstanding differences. This can best be done, by withdrawing strike forces of both countries from the forward positions and by otherwise observing restraint in word and action.

The statement says: 'An early meeting of the two Prime Ministers without preconditions could provide a framework for reactivating the Shimla Agreement which envisages normalisation of relations in all spheres in accordance with the principles of peaceful co-existence and the UN Charter. Such a meeting could also revive constructive dialogue on Siachen and the spread of narcotics and illicit arms which affect the entire sub-continent, and stimulate further confidence-building measures on the nuclear and other issues.'

The Shimla Agreement provides for a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir. The aspirations of this divided people need to be accommodated through participation of their authentic representatives in this process at an appropriate stage.

Assurance essential: Meanwhile, each country must satisfy the other that it is not interfering in its internal affairs. The assurance of stable and secure boundaries is essential to the on-going process of nation-building in all of South Asia and for regional cooperation. Rapid global change and detente present both Pakistan and India with a historic challenge and opportunity to refashion their relations and together build a better future.

The signatories from India include two former Governors, Mr L.P. Singh, and Mr Nirmal Mukarji, two former Foreign Secretaries, Mr Jagat Mehta and Mr A.P. Venkateswaran, former Defence Secretary, Mr K.B. Lall, defence analysts, Mr K. Subrahmanyam and Lt Gen (Rtd) A.M. Vohra, Academics, Mr Babani Sen Gupta, Prof Bimal Prasad and Mr Bashiruddin Ahmed, Journalists, Mr Nikhil Chakravarty and Mr George Verghese, former Supreme Court Judge, Mr V.R. Krishna Iyer, former Vice-Chancellor, Mr Jamal Kidwai, two economists, Dr Malcolm Adiseshiah, MP and Prof B.S. Minhas, former Member of the Planning Commission, Mr Tarlok Singh, former Judge, Mr V.M. Tarkunda and former Secretary, External Affairs, Mr B.F.H.B. Tyabji.

Among those from Pakistan who signed the statement are: Mr Mohammad Yaqb Ali, former Chief Justice, Supreme Court, Mr Darob Patel, former Supreme Court Judge and Chairman, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, Mr Burhanuddin, former Supreme Court Judge and former Chief Justice, Peshwar High Court, Mr Ghulam Mujaddio, former Chief Justice, Lahore High Court, Sardar A. Rashid, former Federal Minister and former Chief Minister of West Pakistan province and former Chief Minister, North West Frontier province, Dr Mubashir Hassan, former Federal Minister of Finance, Mr Ataullah Bajjad, former Judge of Lahore High Court, Asma Jahangir, Secretary General, Human Rights Commission, Mr Sheikh Ayaz, Poet, former Vice-Chancellor, Sind University, Prof Iqbal Ahmed, Author, Communist, Human Rights Activist, Mr I.A. Rehman, Chief Editor, Progressive Papers, Mr M.B. Naqvi, Communist, Mr Sajjad Haider, former Foreign Secretary.

To promote contacts between the parliamentarians, the Lok Sabha Speaker, Mr Rabi Ray, will be inviting his counterpart of the Pakistan National Assembly, Mr Malik Meraj Khalid to come to India with a delegation of Parliament Members.

**Friendly Coexistence Between India, Pakistan  
Over Kashmir Urged***90AS0188A New Delhi DINMAN TIMES in Hindi  
24-30 Jun 90 p 5*[Article by M.V. Kamath: Kashmir Valley Could  
Become a Bridge of Friendship“]

[Text] Everything that can be said about Jammu and Kashmir has already been said. The United States of America, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France, China, Japan, PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat, Bangladesh, and Egypt have all advised India in their own way not to go to war over Kashmir and to follow the Simla agreement. Benazir Bhutto has just returned after visiting nine Muslim countries. Apparently she got some ambiguous advice there, since she is not very vocal about it. India has openly declared that the Jammu-Kashmir issue is its internal affair and would not accept interference by any other country. It is not willing to accept arbitration efforts by anyone, be it the United States or Britain. India wants to settle its issues with Pakistan on its own. India has also expressed its wariness about war just like any other country. After listening to Pakistani foreign minister Sahabzada Yakub Khan's statement, the people are convinced that Pakistan realizes that dealing with India will not be as easy as taking candy from a baby. He also announced that Pakistan did not want a war. Benazir Bhutto is also giving the same impression. Fifty important Pakistanis, including retired high court justices, a former air force marshal, a few former cabinet ministers, some human rights advocates, and some editors, have issued a joint communique condemning the policy leading toward war. They argue that a war will widen the chasm that already exists between India and Pakistan, will increase the foreign



debt of both countries, and will put a stop to all developmental and democratic progress. The petitioners want Kashmir to become a bridge of peace between India and Pakistan. They hope that both countries will give up their territorial ambitions so that a courageous step toward peace and coexistence is taken in South Asia. So far so good, however, what exactly is this action for peace and coexistence that they are referring to? Nobody had the courage to clarify this. Was this all pure rhetoric?

We should say and accept that the "courageous action for peace and coexistence" is very much possible if Pakistan is willing to accept the following facts:

1. The resolutions passed by the Security Council are useless now. Quoting them in support of their various demands does not help anyone.

2. Inclusion of Jammu-Kashmir in India cannot be avoided. No question about this issue should be raised at any level.

3. All interference in India's internal affairs, be it in Jammu-Kashmir or in Punjab, must stop immediately. There is no room for any agreement on this issue.

4. India does not accept the two-nation theory. There are more Muslims living in India than in Pakistan. Pakistan should realize this fact and also understand what it means.

It will be very easy for India to think about the new "courageous action for peace and coexistence" if Pakistan accepts these four facts. This action will put an end to any possibility of a war between India and Pakistan for good and will help start a new era of development and prosperity.

Jawaharlal Nehru had promised a conditional opinion poll of the people in Jammu-Kashmir. It should be remembered that it was conditional and was settled the very day when the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir decided to merge with India. Nehru's promise had no standing after the legal merger. There is no example in legal history of such a poll. India, however, is facing a religious uprising and it is a very different issue and it has no relation to Pakistan. Any efforts by Pakistan over this issue, whether to manipulate this situation or to get religious emotions in other Islamic countries excited about it, would only hinder its neighborly relationship with India.

This is one side of the issue. The other side is that Pakistan has been helping the terrorists in Punjab who have caused havoc in that region. Pakistan must stop all such actions and honestly try to establish good relations with India. Only then can there be peace in this continent. Just repeating the word "peace" over and over again will not help. India's prime minister has refused to talk to Pakistan for this very reason. There can be no agreement between the two countries as long as Pakistan is interfering in India's internal affairs.

It is imperative for an appropriate atmosphere for talks between India and Pakistan that Pakistan accept the fact that it is a separate country and it has no rights over India. Pakistan should also remember the fact that regardless of how much it looks at Western nations for imaginary protection, its future welfare lies with its neighbors in South Asia, especially India.

Pakistan itself has created all the problems it is facing now. It has created a philosophy based on arrogance, as seen in the conflict between West and East Pakistan. Bangladesh was born out of this conflict. India does not recognize this philosophy, but does recognize Pakistan as a nation. Pakistan should be satisfied with this. Pakistan has no right to represent the Muslims living in India. The sooner Pakistan understands this fact, the easier it will be to improve the India-Pakistan relationship.

After saying all this, let us discuss the Pakistani intellectuals' dream that they are not capable of making a reality. This action can be summed up in one word: alliance. This would mean friendly relationship between India and Pakistan, forgetting the bitter experiences of the past, and trying for a better future. This unity is not only possible, but is essential, and would prove very beneficial. Jammu and Kashmir would have an appropriate place in such an alliance.

Many of India's intellectuals are afraid to present this idea of a union to Pakistan. It is possible that Pakistan will not believe such a proposal because there are people in India who do not want to have any relationship with Pakistan. There must be people in Pakistan who want to keep a distance from the Hindus and do not want to deal with them.

However, the idea of an alliance does not mean merging the two countries. If a small country like Belgium can keep its identity besides a large country like Germany in the European Common Market, then India and Pakistan can also manage to coexist in an alliance. Their independent identities can be maintained. India and Pakistan would be two equal countries, and not as a major or minor partners.

Pakistan will have its own parliament and its own supreme court within this alliance. It can have its own national anthem if it so desires. It is possible to adopt Mohammad Iqbal's song, "Saare Jehan Se Achha" as a common national anthem. However, this is not important at this point.

However, it is important that this alliance has a common currency and a reserve bank. The most positive result of such an alliance would be an automatic end to all the separatist movements based on religion and language in India and Pakistan. Everyone will cooperate since they will have no separate place to go to.

May God bless the intellectuals in Pakistan who are talking about working miracles if the defense budget is cut. They are correct on this issue. India and Pakistan have been helping the weapons trade make hefty profits.

We are helping these traders from the United States, England, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, and France among other countries. This kind of spending is a crime, seeing how poor our two countries are.

This alliance would also mean that India and Pakistan will depend on each other, instead of the United States, the Soviet Union, or any other country, for their defense. This alliance will bring this subcontinent in line with any larger country in the world. Pakistan's intellectual community should explain this to people like Nawaz Sharif. India can be Pakistan's closest friend as we both descend from the same tradition.

Of course, Pakistan can ask, "What will happen to Jammu and Kashmir?" The answer is that we should return Jammu and Kashmir to its pre-1947 boundaries and we should make it an equal and a happy partner in this alliance. Thus, Pakistan, Jammu and Kashmir, and India would become friends. There would be no individual friends. There would be no room for efforts to control each other. All they have to do is try to cooperate with each other.

#### **Government Statement Regrets Sri Lanka Violence**

46001712 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
29 Jun 90 p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, 28 Jun—India today expressed deep anguish over the large-scale loss of life and civilian sufferings as a result of the growing escalation of violence in Sri Lanka. It was also concerned over the aerial attacks on heavily-populated areas (in the North-Eastern Province of the island).

Making known its views in an official statement, the Indian Government suggested that the ethnic problem be resolved through dialogue among all parties concerned and a political solution be found, so as to fulfil the Tamil aspirations within the frame work of a united Sri Lanka. India, it was reiterated, would not allow its territory to be used as a base for any group of militants.

The statement followed a review of the latest developments in Sri Lanka by the Union Cabinet and its Committee on Political Affairs in the evening. The Prime Minister, who presided over these meetings, was earlier engaged in discussions with senior officials. In the morning, the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Mr M. Karunanidhi, twice spoke to Mr Singh on telephone. A fresh review became necessary because of the rapidity with which events had moved in Sri Lanka, and the new, though not entirely unexpected, turns taken by the situation there. The External Affairs Minister, Mr I.K. Gujral, who returned from his trip abroad yesterday, also conferred with the Prime Minister.

#### **The Other Elements**

While non-involvement of India in the island's happenings was inherent in the present phase, after the withdrawal of the Indian Peace Keeping Force, New Delhi emphasised, in the last two to three weeks, the other elements of its Sri Lanka policy. These points bear repetition. One, India could not be a passive spectator of the goings-on in the island—notably of the heavy loss of civilian life in the Tamil majority areas. Two, it will exert diplomatic pressure on Sri Lanka to ensure against escalation of violence and loss of civilian lives.

Following is the text of the official statement:

"The Government of India is greatly concerned by the increasing intensity of the conflict in Sri Lanka and the growing escalation in the level of violence.

"We are deeply anguished by reports of large scale loss of life, civilian suffering and hundreds of thousands of people rendered homeless. Aerial attacks on heavily-populated areas is a matter of particular concern.

"The Government of India reiterates the utmost importance it attaches to maintaining ethnic harmony in Sri Lanka. An end to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka can only be brought about through dialogue among all parties concerned and a political solution, in which the legitimate Tamil demands and aspirations are fully met within the framework of the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka.

"The Government of India, on its part, reaffirms that it will not allow its territory to be used by any group of militants, as a base for their activities."

#### **India-Nepal Dialogue Welcomed**

90AS0163A Calcutta *ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA* in Bengali 13 Jun 90 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text] What the prime ministers of Nepal and India have accomplished in their New Delhi meeting can be called the mending and reestablishment of relations between the two countries. The joint communique issued at the conclusion of their talks has, besides expressing the usual diplomatic niceties and alluding to historical ties, clearly stated that bilateral relations between India and Nepal have now been restored to their status prior to 1 April 1987. In other words, the bitterness and bad blood that poisoned relations between the two oldest neighbors for nearly three years and destroyed their mutual trust has truly come to an end. Instead of indulging in emotionalism, the two prime ministers have decided that the decisions about bilateral relations reached in their New Delhi meeting should go into effect by 1 July. This realistic outlook is reflected in every line of the communique as it was in every level of the discussions.

Nepal has pledged not to let anyone use its soil to carry out anti-Indian activities. Whether at the instigation of

China or any other country, a group of people in Nepal became involved in spreading hatred toward India during the past administration.

New Delhi was held responsible for all the hardships and miseries of the people while the royal court's lack of interest in renewing the India-Nepal pact was completely ignored. It is hoped that those people will now lose their occupation. Similarly, India has given the assurance that no activities against the interest of Nepal will be permitted on Indian soil. Besides, the two governments will have prior consultations on defense issues to ensure that neither country's security interest is compromised. India has conceded Nepal's request to open 22 export-import points along the border as well as 15 merchandise-traffic routes. The people of Nepal suffered great hardships after India virtually stopped exporting such items as petroleum, kerosene, coal, sugar, cement, and so on. Export of these goods will now resume. Nepal will have larger amounts of secured Indian loans—it increases from Rs. 250 million to Rs. 350 million. In the field of trade between the two countries, Nepal will get the opportunity to reduce or eliminate import tariffs. On the other hand, Kathmandu has also agreed to end discriminatory treatment of Indian nationals working in Nepal.

Clearly, the two countries have agreed to make a number of specific decisions within certain parameters and to implement them by a deadline. Now the two countries must beware that this rapprochement does not suffer setbacks. At the end of the parleys, Prime Minister Viswanath Pratap made a valuable point. It should be remembered, he said, that Nepal is a small country. Its difficulties and problems are relatively much greater than those of India. Hence it is all right if there is some imbalance in the two countries' relations in trade and other fields—provided the advantages of the situation accrue to Nepal. This is the correct attitude for India as the bigger and more advanced nation. There is no harm in showing this neighborly magnanimity. That is to be expected. Nevertheless, anything that harms India's interests, honor, or dignity should not be accepted either. For a time the previous Nepalese government was in effect busy doing just that. China was being pampered for a certain purpose. That did not benefit Nepal; it could not have. Meanwhile, relations between Kathmandu and New Delhi began to suffer. Hardships befell the common people of Nepal. And in world forums, India picked up some blame. Happily, circumstances have changed. Prime Minister Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, as the head of the government installed by Nepal's democratic movement, came to Delhi to give the people of the two countries a sense of relief.

#### **India Announces Aid Package for Namibia**

46001716 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
23 Jun 90 p 6

[Text] United Nations, 22 Jun (UNI)—India announced \$12-millions in bilateral aid to Namibia as the United Nations pledging conference for the newly independent

African nation opened yesterday. Namibia's President, Mr Sam Nujoma, is attending the conference.

Being an aid recipient itself, India is generally not a donor country. Our presence (here) is a reflection of the very special place Namibia has in our hearts, and of our willingness to share our own limited resources, human and financial, in the reconstruction of a sister ex-colonial country, an Indian diplomat explained.

India's envoy, Mr Gharekhan, said the aid package would include training 50 Namibians in small-scale industries, education, water resources development, administration, agriculture and other such fields. The package would also pay for studies or pilot projects in these areas and deputing 10 Indian advisers or experts at the request of the Namibian authorities, he said. India will also supply Namibia medicines, mobile clinics, buses and capital goods.

He recalled India's longstanding association with Namibia's freedom struggle, beginning with Mahatma Gandhi's campaign against South Africa's racial discrimination. "It interests us that broadly the conclusions that we had arrived at (for rebuilding India after independence) are remarkably similar to some of the economic policies that Namibia has now adopted for its own development."

Nujoma's appeal: Sam Nujoma made a fervent appeal to the international community to extend all assistance to enable his country to rebuild its economy. Calling for 'adequate levels of assistance' to enable Namibia to implement its reconstruction and development programme, he told the delegates at the pledging conference that the cost of projects was estimated at about \$1 billion.

"Direct grants and budgetary assistance during the coming difficult years will help lay the foundation for a longterm, self-sustaining development," he said. He said Namibia had inherited an 'onerous budget deficit' which must be met before real development could begin.

#### **Reportage on Foreign Minister's Visit to FRG**

##### **22 Jun Talks, Banquet**

46001714A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 23 Jun 90 p 11

[Article by L.K. Sharma]

[Text] Bonn, 22 Jun—India and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) yesterday decided to intensify bilateral ties, with Bonn assuring the former that developments the Europe would give it greater financial flexibility to assist India and other developing countries.

The issue came up during the external affairs minister, Mr I.K. Gujral's talks with the West German foreign

minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who is understood to have reiterated that West Germany's preoccupation with unification and its neighbouring East European countries would not distract its attention from the third world. In fact, the 'peace dividend' resulting from unification would provide Germany with enhanced resources to assist developing countries. Germany would be released from financing the cold war.

Mr Gujral said the process of German unification, welcomed by India, marked a new chapter of peace. He, however, cautioned his counterpart that while pursuing unification, nothing should be done to make the Soviet Union feel that some forces were ganging up against it.

Mr Genscher is understood to have conveyed to Mr Gujral that Germany wanted to co-operate with the Soviet Union and not to isolate it. Germany was not going to be an inward-looking country.

The two ministers, in their talks, mainly covered the process of unification, development of future ties between the military alliances and disarmament.

Mr Gujral talked to the West German minister for economic co-operation, Dr Jergen Warnke, on economic ties. The hosts reiterated that Europe's economic potential would be enhanced as a result of the current developments and it would be in a better position to assist India.

Mr Gujral called on the West German President, Mr Richard Von Weizsacker, who is expected to visit India after some month. Delegation of the Greens Party in Parliament, led by Ms Petra Kelly met Mr Gujral and talked about its environmental concerns.

At a dinner hosted by Mr Genscher, Mr Gujral also talked of the "current serious difficulties that India was having with Pakistan." "I would only emphasise that what is at stake is the framework of our secular democracy which is the very basis of India's existence as a modern nation," the external affairs minister said in his dinner speech. India, on its part, was prepared to resolve the contentious issues through peaceful means and bilateral discussions, he said.

Mr Gujral hoped Pakistan's response to India's suggestion for taking confidence building measures would be "constructive." On terrorism and fundamentalism, Mr Gujral said it should cause concern to the entire international community. "No cause can be served by training and assisting terrorists and religious fanatics with a view gaining political advantage, and this is true in any part of the world," he said.

He said the great peaceful movements witnessed by Europe in the past few months clearly showed that ultimately, the will for the people would prevail. Welcoming the imminent prospect of a reunified Germany, Mr Gujral said, India had no doubt that it would take its place on the centre-stage of international community and "be a major force for a better world in which

disarmament, development and peace will acquire new priorities." Mr Gujral said: "We look forward to an even closer and wider ranging relationship between India and Germany dedicated to these important objectives."

Mr Genscher expressed his concern at the tensions between India and Pakistan with regard to Kashmir. He noted that the members of the European community had appealed to both sides to show moderation. "I know that you seek to obtain a peaceful solution to the conflict through dialogue with Pakistan on the basis of these Simla agreement.

"The policy of co-operation between India and Pakistan must prove its worth precisely at this time. This is important not only for your region, but also for the world as a whole. We, therefore, wholeheartedly welcome the fact that your government and the government of Pakistan intend to hold a dialogue," he said.

He said Bonn desired to work towards further consolidation of the political dialogue and economic relations between the two countries. In the past year, for the first time, German industry became the biggest foreign investor in India and continued to occupy this position. This showed India's standing in the eyes of the German business community. India was German's most important economic partner in the third world and its main partner as regards development co-operation. He said Mr Gujral was visiting Bonn at a very special juncture (with the parliament here discussing the economic and social union with East Germany.) "Despite the fascination evoked by this historic transformation, we are resolved to maintain our relations with countries outside Europe," he added.

Mr Genscher welcomed liberalisation of economic policies by India and said only countries which integrated themselves completely in the global economic exchange could be at the forefront of development today. With its potential of highly-specialised researchers and engineers, international infrastructure, its economic and technological potential, India had the strength to integrate itself into the world-wide network of trade and investment, he said.

Mr Gujral, who arrived here from Baghdad, is also understood to have briefed Mr Genscher, about his talks. In his meetings here, Mr Gujral was assisted by the foreign secretary, Mr Muchkuno Dubey, and the Indian ambassador here, Mr A. Madhavan.

#### More on Banquet

46001714B Madras THE HINDU in English  
23 Jun 90 p 7

[Text] Bonn, 22 Jun (UNI, PTI)—The External Affairs Minister, Mr I.K. Gujral, has warned against dangers of growing links between terrorism and fundamentalism which should be a matter of concern for the international community.

"No cause can be served by training and assisting terrorists or religious fanatics with a view to gaining political advantage and this is true in any part of the world," Mr Gujral said at a dinner hosted in his honour by the West German Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher here on Wednesday.

Speaking on the situation in the subcontinent, Mr Gujral said the new Indian Government had been successful in improving its relations with Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Nepal, but sadly there were serious difficulties in the relations with Pakistan. "What is at stake in the present dispute with Pakistan is the very basis of India's existence as a modern nation."

He reiterated India's determination to resolve the contentious issues through peaceful means and bilateral discussions as envisaged in the Shimla agreement. "We have suggested some confidence building measures and hope that the response will be constructive," he said.

Mr Gujral expressed delight over his visit to West Germany especially at a time when East and West Germany were involved in crucial negotiations on reunification and when momentous changes were taking place in this region. He said India welcomed the imminent prospect of a reunified Germany and hoped it would take its place in the centre-stage of international community and be a major force "for a better world in which disarmament, development and peace will acquire new priorities."

India looked forward to an even closer and wide ranging relationship between the two countries dedicated to these important objectives.

Mutual cooperation: "India is quite pleased that bilateral relations have grown from strength to strength reflecting the close political relationship that the two countries have constantly enjoyed." West Germany was at present India's leading partner in investments and joint ventures. Trade between the two countries had expanded significantly in recent years. There were a very large number of high level visits and many exchanges of parliamentarians between two nations. All this had undoubtedly resulted in deeper mutual cooperation and understanding, he said.

Bilateral ties: The External Affairs Minister said his visit was intended to reassure all concerned that in spite of the regional preoccupations and international worries of the two nations, the momentum of their bilateral exchanges would continue to be sustained and indeed expanded in view of the new opportunities that would be available in the integrating European Community and in other parts of Europe.

Mr Gujral suggested that the two governments should intensify their consultations and interactions at all levels to look for new areas of compatibility and complementarity in the emerging situation.

He offered the Indian Government's readiness to consider specific suggestions which could upgrade the quality of bilateral relations.

Mr Genscher, in his speech, appealed to India and Pakistan to find a solution to their dispute over Kashmir through a dialogue on the basis of the Shimla agreement. "It is necessary at this juncture that India and Pakistan reserve their co-operative policies. This is of great importance not only for that region but also for the entire world," he said.

Mr Genscher expressed concern over the tension between India and Pakistan and pointed out that the European Community had appealed to the two nations to exercise great restraint. He acknowledged that India was for a "peaceful solution" of the conflict with Pakistan on the basis of the Shimla agreement. The Federal Republic welcomed the initiatives from both sides for a dialogue, he added.

Mr Genscher assured Mr Gujral that the German Government was determined to develop further its relations with the nations outside Europe in spite of the imminent German reunification and the democratisation in east Europe. "There is no place for a new Euro centrism," he said.

The new dynamism in Indo-German economic and technology cooperation had given a new quality to bilateral political cooperation. There were a number of high-level visits including the visit of the Indian President last September. The Foreign Minister expressed the view that the conditions for further deepening political dialogue and economic cooperation were quite good, the Indo-German 'fast-track' had opened dynamic perspectives for German investments in India and its existence was a clear sign of India's opening to the world.

He urged India to pursue industrial modernisation, liberal economic policy and social market economy. "Only countries which can integrate in global economic exchange could remain at the top of development," he said.

India with its highly specialised reservoir of researchers and engineers, its nation-wide infrastructure and its economic and technology potential, has the strength to face world-wide competition in trade and investment, Mr Genscher said.

He said Europeans, especially Germans wanted to become a partner in the economic and political opening of India.

#### **Bonn Press Conference**

46001714C Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 24 Jun 90 p 9

[Article by L.K. Sharma]

[Text] Bonn, 23 Jun—India and the Federal Republic of Germany will soon consider proposals to collaborate in third-country projects, especially in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The idea was approved by the two sides during the external affairs minister, Mr I.K. Gujral's talks with the West German ministers here. It will be further taken up when the joint commission meets in October.

Mr Gujral met the foreign minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the minister for economic co-operation, Dr Jurgen Warnke, the economic minister, Mr Helmut Haussmann, and two prominent MP [Member of Parliament]s, Prof Uwe Holtz, chairman of the foreign affairs committee, and Dr Hans Stercken. Mr Gujral's meeting with the honorary chairman of the social democratic party, Mr Willy Brandt, did not materialise as Mr Brandt rushed to Berlin to witness the dismantling of Checkpoint Charlie there.

The external affairs minister, who during his visit here also had talks with the President, Mr Richard Von Weizacker, told a press conference that he was reassured that relations between West Germany and India would continue to grow in this changing world environment when Germany was entering a new era.

West Germany was India's major trading partner and East Germany too had significant trade links with India, the minister said. He was convinced that India's economic ties with united Germany would be intensified further and India, along with West Germany, would start playing a role in the development of East Germany even before the reunification.

In response to a question, he said his talks in Bonn, and earlier in Brussels, had given him the impression that the concerns of India and other developing countries about the likely impact of closer integration of Europe were being understood. The European Community would not allow any adverse impact on the third world in its own enlightened self-interest, he said.

Mr Gujral, in his initial remarks, welcomed progress towards German unification as reflected in the ratification by Parliament of the monetary union treaty last night. He said unification would reinforce the peace process further.

He hoped that efforts would now be directed towards ending of regional conflicts and proxy wars and tensions. The flow of arms to such regions should be curtailed as it initiated conflicts and increased tensions, he said. During his talks with the West German foreign minister, the South Asian situation was reviewed and he pointed out that it was Pakistan's policy to encourage terrorism and fundamentalism. West Germany had noted that India wanted to secure peace with Pakistan in accordance with the Simla pact spirit.

In reply to a question on the closure of the Indian cultural centre in Bonn, Mr Gujral said a similar centre was proposed to be opened in Berlin. An Indian festival was proposed to be held in West Germany next year, he said, adding that India valued old cultural ties with Germany.

Mr Gujral told a correspondent that the modernisation of the Rourkela steel plant did not come up during his talks. West Germany has offered a credit of 660 million Deutsche Marks but the offers made by West Germany companies were not competitive which has led to India inviting global tenders for the project. Once the tenders are evaluated it will be known whether the Indian impression that the West German companies had quoted high prices was correct.

#### **Khalistan Statement Declares Readiness for Talks**

90AS0329AA Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English  
6 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] Chandigarh, July 5—In a major development, four main Khalistani groups in a joint statement have said that they want peace and are ready for talks with the Centre on the demand for Khalistan. In a joint statement released to the Press here today, Sukhdev Singh, chief of the Babbar Khalsa International, Paramjit Singh Panjwar, self-styled general of Khalistan Commando Force, Gurjant Singh Budhsinghwala, self-styled general of the Khalistan Liberation Force and Daljit Singh, of the militant faction of the All India Sikh Students' Federation have asked the Punjab Governor, Mr Veerendra Verma, to convey "our message to the Centre."

This is the first time after the open declaration of Khalistan by a group of militant leaders from the Golden Temple in April 1986 that the four major Khalistani groups have talked of peace.

The hand-written statement in Punjabi is two pages long. In the footnote in English, the statement has been described as "our policy statement."

Incidentally, all the four signatories to the statement are among the top militant leaders and have been underground for many years.

The four militant leaders have claimed support of the people of Punjab, including "Hindus, Muslims and Christians" for what they describe as the political movement for "independence and State power."

Ridiculing the recent statement of the Punjab Governor in which he had asked the Khalistanis to lay down arms, the militant leaders have scorned at the offer of Mr Verma for a general amnesty on the condition of laying down arms. They have said the Khalistani militants are proud of their "struggle for Khalistan" and, therefore, there was no question of seeking any general amnesty.

The statement mentions: "Guru Gobind Singh, the 10th Sikh Guru has taught us that weapons are our most sacred and proud possessions. It is our religion to always possess such prized possessions."

In the statement, the militant leaders have claimed that the current movement in Punjab is basically political in nature. The statement says: "Such movements are recognized by the U.N. and all the international human rights groups." The statement also ridicules the Centre for not "recognizing" the current Khalistan movement.

The militant leaders saying that "we only believe in the mainstream of our holy Guru Granth Sahib," have made a scathing remark against "Brahminism" by declaring that "Brahminism is the greatest enemy of humanity."

Independent Punjab observers have termed today's joint statement by the four main Khalistani groups as significant particularly when the militant leaders have for the first time talked of peace and meeting Central leaders for their demand.

UNI and PTI add: Seventeen people, including five terrorists and two security personnel, were killed in Punjab since last night.

Security forces repulsed a major rocket attack by the terrorists on a police post in Sabrahon village in the Patti police station area yesterday.

#### **Foreign Policy Analysis Recommends Internal Peace First**

90AS0296A Colombo *THE ISLAND* in English  
25 Jul 90 p 10

[Article by Pran Chopra: "For a New Indian Foreign Policy". Words in italics, as published.]

[Text] Vision, ambition, necessity, in that sequence in time, shaped India's foreign policy for over thirty years, from the early Fifties to the late Eighties. Long before he became Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru contributed the vision.

He was so far ahead of his times that lesser people thought he had become a visionary in the bad sense of the word; that he was dreaming about things which had little practical relevance to the needs of a country just emerging from colonialism with a heavy overload of home grown problems.

What had happened on the other hand was that he had become a visionary in the good sense of the word. From his world view he had distilled a vision of a global role for India, befitting its magnitude as he saw it.

When he became Prime Minister, it became his ambition to fulfil that role. His very first step became historic. More than any other person, he helped in transforming the truly global institution of the British empire into a multi-coloured Commonwealth by his insistence on the only kind of relationship which a republican India would have with the British Crown.

Among his early policy positions there were others also which could have wrought similar transformations. But

to mention only one: his conviction that nationalism would be the most powerful ideology in international relations.

#### **Many Convictions**

From this single source came a number of convictions which had the potential of reshaping the world. First India must help in every way it can to see that all nations are freed of the humiliation of colonialism.

Second, non-alignment is the only foreign policy which would uphold the national self-respect of the newly emerging countries.

Third, China must not be denied its rightful place in the United Nations on the false premise that it was a Soviet stooge; it was too proud a nation to become one.

Fourth, Japan should not be subjected to humiliating terms of peace. Fifth, all countries must be free to choose their own paths of social and economic development. One could add many more.

These convictions enriched India's foreign policy, and also went a long way towards fulfilling its aims. But soon they began to be blunted by the necessities imposed by the cold war. The immediate consequence for India was that its relations with Pakistan were trapped by the cold war.

But larger consequences also followed.

The cold war blocked the affinities, both economic and political, which India had, and still has, with the U.S. and western Europe because of shared democratic and cultural values and economic needs and opportunities.

It also distorted the economic and political affinities which India had with the Soviet Union and still has. These affinities are fully justified by certain shared values regarding the aims and means of economic and social development, and certain shared goals regarding the international economic and political order. But they began to be seen instead as, and to an extent became, compulsions created by the cold war.

American displeasure over India's closeness to the Soviet Union made still greater closeness unavoidable for India and *vice versa* until the balance of India's relations with these two countries, both economic and political, became rather different from what Nehru probably wanted it to be. The difference affected the pace and quality of India's economic development.

Other aberrations followed. India lost its true anti-colonial voice. Sometimes it became unnecessarily shrill, sometimes very muted, depending upon the state of its resonance with the echoes of the cold war.

Many non-aligned countries began to practise non-alignment as merely a shelter from the cold war, not as the herald of their independence and self-respect.

The Sino-Soviet offshoot of the Soviet American cold war shattered Nehru's hope that Sino-Indian relations would one day become an Asian proclamation. Japan became an astute party to the cold war, even though in a cynical and non believing way.

#### **Vision Faded**

It does not follow from this analysis that Nehru's foreign policy failed, either in his life-time or later. It has served India extraordinary long and well.

But the vision has gone out of it. The vision began to fade before the light faded in his eyes. But it was completely extinguished soon afterwards.

The bolder ambition of making a vision a reality receded next. It came down first to the more conventional concerns of ensuring the country's security by "pragmatic" means, and next to the still less noble concerns of projecting power abroad for the sake of preserving it at home.

But fortunately, while vision receded first and ambition next, the compulsions of necessity created by the cold war have also relented, thanks to the global changes under way.

This has had an important effect upon South Asia already. The military aspect of America's special relationship with Pakistan is abating and so also will, one hopes, the political and security burdens it placed upon India.

It is true that the Soviet Union has much less capacity now, and probably much less desire as well, to provide that counter vailing relationship which proved so useful for so long.

But India also will need it much less, with the ebbing away of American military presence behind Pakistan, while India's non-security relations with the Soviet Union will continue to be very close, closer than either's relations with most other countries.

Some conspicuous further changes will flow from that, and they will be mostly benign. Relief from the compulsions will allow Indian diplomacy to sail in freer and more open waters.

Relations with Moscow or Washington will not be constrained, as they were in the past by the fear of reactions in the other capital. This should make it easier for India to continue to do what it has always tried to do, to shop wherever it is most cost effective to do so, whether it be diplomatic, military or economic shopping.

There will also be relief from the constraints imposed by the Islamic voting bloc in the United Nations which has prevented India so far from judging the question of relations with Israel on its own merits.

This voting bloc might or might not remain monolithic in opposing India on other issues for the reason merely that it is critical of India on Kashmir.

The probability is that it will not remain so; many Islamic countries have supported India against Pakistan on some recent occasion,s for example in elections to the International Court.

Even on Kashmir it could become far less monolithic if the internal situation in Kashmir improves. But its pressure did not come from its own votes.

It came from the strength it added to the votes the U.S. used to muster against India because India had not made itself useful, and Pakistan had, in the cold war against the Soviet Union.

Not only will that American motivation now recede, India might in fact gain some points if, as is happening, Islamic countries see themselves as an anti-western bloc and are so seen by the West also.

#### **Regaining Will and Skill**

But the freedom to sail farther is meaningless unless backed by the capacity to do so. That calls for a meaningful foreign policy, redesigned to match the changing circumstances, and backed by capacity to pursue it.

The capacity will grow only if India regains the will and the skills it once had for overcoming internal dissensions. It now has more will than lately but has yet to regain the skills. In the meantime three such dissensions, in Punjab, in Kashmir, and on the Hindu-Muslim interface, are sapping India's effectiveness as a nation, and are also spoiling the image and draining the energies it needs for external tasks.

Therefore the first task of a new foreign policy must begin at home; this is the innermost ring of its concerns. We have not yet gained enough from the happy coincidence that the present Foreign Minister has deep knowledge of all the three problems, though all three are the creations of earlier regimes in New Delhi.

India's performance has been much better in respect of the next outer ring of tasks—relations with the immediate and close neighbours, and refloating SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] from its sunken state. Prospects are improving all along the eastern rim, from China through South-East Asia, to Burma. Few problems have been solved as yet, but the ambience is much better, and that is an important gain. The record on Afghanistan is uniquely good; few other countries judged the situation better.

In time this will pay in the farther Muslim world, if in the meantime the rift with Pakistan is also healed.

The benefits of the ending of the cold war compulsions will also be felt in the next two rings, relations with the amorphous mass of the third world and with the golden nuggets of the first.



Some sources of belligerency and tension in the third world were proxies of the first. With peace between their principals, the proxies might also become quieter.

That should make it easier for the third world countries to add three major tasks to the old and continuing agenda of non-alignment (which is still needed, for all that it has been vindicated and fulfilled by the ending of the cold war).

The first is to save the third world from the flood of armament makers and their agents who will lose some of their present very lucrative pursuits because of the arms cutbacks under way in the first and second worlds.

A forewarning of the havoc they can cause has been given by what has been done to Pakistan by the Mujahideen, and their close cousin, the drug mafia, who have lost the jobs they had in Pakistan's and America's Afghan war.

The second task flows from the first: a campaign that the third world countries must forswear the use of force for settling border disputes, which are the customary opening for the arms merchants.

Both tasks can be backed by a third, to bring down their own defence spending and to rely more on diplomacy and mutual confidence for security.

#### Facing Choices

The most difficult tasks lie on the outer most ring because mind boggling alternatives are opening up there, and facing choices is the hardest task in diplomacy.

Earlier also a dire choice had to be made there between the East and the West, but the alternatives were clear and time had made them comfortably familiar.

Now you have to guess where the U.S. ends and the Soviet Union begins; whether there is a Soviet Union at all or only Russia; whether Europe will stand out alone as a splendid new actor or will merge with or absorb someone else whether Japan will be a countervailing or auxiliary power.

But there are some pointers to a future path and policy. First, economic relations will matter much more than in the past, and probably more than the political.

America will remain the largest economy and probably also become the most energetic. But Japan will be more tolerant divergent philosophies of economic development.

So will be Europe, with the added advantage of a more familiar socio-political and cultural milieu, and that should take India closer to it where other things are equal.

#### New Composition of Congress-I Working Committee Announced

90AS0325A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
30 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, June 29—The Congress(I) president, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today reconstituted the Congress Working Committee [CWC] replacing the seniormost member, Mr Kamlapati Tripathi, with his son, Mr Lokpati Tripathi.

The reconstituted committee which has 19 members with Mr Gandhi heading it, will have two more nominated members. So far, the committee does not have any member from West Bengal or any of the north-eastern states.

The party general secretary, Mr H.K.L. Bhagat, said Mr Gandhi would be nominating two more members soon. As in the past, all members of the central parliamentary board, general secretaries and the treasurer have been made members of the working committee. Mr S.S. Ray or Mr Pranab Mukherjee is likely to fill one of the two existing vacancies in the CWC.

In addition, all Congress(I) chief ministers will be special invitees to the working committee meetings. Mr Uma Shankar Dikshit and Mr A.B.A. Ghani Khan Choudhury have already resigned and others who do not find a place in the new committee include Mr Ramanand Yadav from Bihar and Mr Kamlapati Tripathi. Mr Tripathi (86) had expressed keenness that he be replaced by Mr Lokpati Tripathi as he is not keeping well.

The new entrants to the committee are Mr Madhavsinh Solanki (Gujarat), Mr Lokpati Tripathi and Mr R.C. Vikal (UP), Mr D.P. Yadav (Bihar), Mr Ghulam Nabi Azad (Kashmir), Mr Jagannath Pahadia (Rajasthan) and Mr Janardhan Poojary (Karnataka).

#### Second Chance For Devil Discussed

90P40123A Madras ANANDA VIKATAN in Tamil  
12 Aug 90 p 96

[Editorial entitled: "Devil"]

[Text] Due to his arrogant and egotistical politicking, Devilal has lost the golden opportunity to serve the multitudes of Indians, especially the poverty-stricken village dwellers.

The art of governing requires keeping one's own interests and prejudices, at least to a certain extent, at bay and operating with a team spirit.

Devilal, however, expected the Prime Minister and the Central Government to kow-tow to him. "I coronated V.P. Singh", was his egotistical claim which earned for him everyone's hatred and he is facing the bitter consequences today.

It is a fact that basically he is a leader who hails from a humble, rural background. It is also true that he was the

star on whom the farmers had pinned their hopes. The humility that such a person usually shows, however, was not to be seen in him. He tried running the government like a powerful feudal landlord.

Will Devilal, who has had a sudden enlightenment and is starting to muster a farming militia, realize that he has committed a breach of trust with the farmers by losing the opportunity to serve them? If he understands the errors of his way, and mends them, he might still make a useful comeback to politics.

### **Madhya Pradesh: Chief Minister Patwa's Influence Said Declining**

90AS0158A New Delhi DINMAN TIMES in Hindi  
10-16 Jun 90 p 11

[Article by Tarun Kumar Bhaduri: "Province of God, Ruled by Mr. Patwa, Authority With the Rajmata"]

[Text] The fine line separating the party from the government is disappearing in the state of Madhya Pradesh. The chief minister, Sundar Lal Patwa, did not try to hide it; on the other hand, he stated openly that the "party will run the government" and also that, "I am first and foremost a worker of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh."

Patwa must be complimented, if not for his unknowing naivete, at least for his frankness. During the Congress-rule also the dividing line between the party and the government was unclear, but at least the party always tried to impress that the government was different from the party. No party worker attended any cabinet meeting. On the other hand, it was common place to notice some skirmishes between the state Congress committees and the ministries. But, recently the all powerful secretary-general, Kushbhau Thakre, attended a long cabinet meeting, although he did it informally.

It will appear, at present, that Patwa might not be having his way. From the very beginning, he has been a puppet chief minister. His government is directed from Gwalior by invisible hands. In the process of getting the chief ministership, he put aside the claims of more popular leader Kailash Joshi and deprived Birendra Kumar Saklecha of a party ticket for his election. For this purpose, he had to beg for support from leading members of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] from Gwalior palace. Therefore, even before the elections, Patwa entered into an agreement with Rajmata Vijay Raje Sindhia, Sambhaji Angre, and the leadership of Swayam Sevak Sangh.

It was agreed that Sindhia, Angre, and Patwa would be capturing the maximum party nomination papers for their followers, and that Patwa will form a cabinet of members selected by Rajmata, Angre, and Thakre. Now it has become a well-known fact that the ministers belonging to BJP, members of the council, and senior officers have been meeting with Angre quite often. Angre is an extra-constitutional officer residing at the Char Imli House of the Rajmata at Bhopal. Who is this Sambhaji

Chandorji Angre? Until 1967, when for the first time in Madhya Pradesh because of defections from Congress a government of united legislatures groups was formed, Sindhia and G. N. Singh had played prominent roles in making the D.P. Misra government fall. The young Madhav Rao Sindhia was still loyal to his mother.

Among all these events, Angre established himself like a person well-versed in diplomacy. He was an expert especially in making moves in palace intrigues. Nobody explicitly clarified what his relation with the Rajmata was. It is said that the ambitious G.N. Singh had tried to have a showdown with him, but within the Jan Sangh of that period and the BJP, later on, his position and status went on improving. He should feel obliged to Gwalior palace for this.

Whatever happened afterward includes Madhav Rao Sindhia's joining Congress and finding a berth for himself in the cabinet. After securing the status of a minister, he tried to sever the wings of Angre who he thought was responsible for creating cracks in the royal house of Gwalior.

Angre came out spotless from all this, and now he controls each and every aspect of the state government while himself remaining in the background. It is said that the government officers are divided in four groups: supporters of Congress (I), supporters of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, non-supporters of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and the BJP, and others. It is clear who among them will be favorites of the ruling group. It is a fact that one of the officers one time complained to the chief minister that because of his leanings towards the BJP he was being harassed.

Contrary to the general belief, it has become a question of survival for the party to secure a BJP majority in Madhya Pradesh. The number of aspirants for positions is much more than the number of positions. Congress anyhow continued to survive despite internal differences. But for a united BJP it is a new phenomenon. The internal currents of dissatisfaction can easily be recognized. They will create many problems for the party in the future. Patwa does not have the support of Kailash Joshi and his group, nor does he have the support of the Saklecha group. Although they are not big groups, still these leaders cannot be neglected in the BJP politics of Madhya Pradesh.

The chief minister has announced recently that whatever political cases had been instituted by the previous government they would all be dropped, including even those which had monetary implications. Does this mean that even such cases as those which were filed against Saklecha under the anti-corruption legislation will also be withdrawn?

## **AIADMK Leader Gives Up Post, Announces Party Changes**

46001720 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
20 Jun 90 p 5

[Article by G.C. Shekhar]

[Text] Madras, 19 Jun—In what amounts to yet another quit notice from active politics, the AIADMK [AI India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] general secretary, Ms Jayalalitha, today relinquished her party post, abolished all other party posts and appointed a 37-member high power committee to run the party.

In a statement here, she said the various posts at the AIADMK headquarters from the top level senior joint general secretary, joint general secretary, deputy general secretaries, propaganda secretary, headquarters secretary, to the MGR youth wing secretary, were being done away with from today.

In a typical Jayalalitha style the important decision was conveyed to the Press through signed statements distributed by her party office manager as she chose not to meet newsmen to announce the dramatic though not wholly unexpected decision.

Ms Jayalalitha, in her statement disclosed that she was retiring only temporarily from politics on health grounds and would resume her duties at a later stage. Party circles have been discussing the possibility of a trip to the United States for comprehensive medical treatment.

Whereas she has announced that the rather unwieldy high-power committee would assume all the powers and responsibilities of the general secretary, the new power centre is most likely to be the party treasurer, Mr P. Madhavan, who has been nominated as convener of the committee. Moreover, only Mr Madhavan's original post of treasurer has been left untouched in the present upheaval.

Ms Jayalalitha has also directed the committee to hold party elections to all posts including that of the general secretary. To prevent emotional outbursts from her party-men, who went to the extent of self-immolation the last time she announced her retirement, Ms Jayalalitha has urged them to follow the orders of the committee which she has said would only be an interim arrangement.

But a close reading between the lines of Ms Jayalalitha's statement reveals that her temporary retirement may only be a ruse to extricate herself from a ticklish police case instituted against her by the DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (Dravidian Progressive Foundation)] government for defamation after she alleged certain irregularities in a rice deal.

In her statement Ms Jayalalitha politely states that she made the allegation only in good faith, with no intent of

maligning anyone. She hoped that the steps taken to restructure the AIADMK would help create a friendlier atmosphere.

It remains to be seen how party leaders are going to react to such a massive restructuring of the party setup, something which even MGR never resorted to despite a crippling illness. Though she has accommodated all the sacked officebearers in the high power committee, the pride of place given to Mr Madhavan is bound to cause a lot of heartburn. Leaders may even challenge it on the grounds that it went against the party constitution.

## **Janata Dal Chairman Interviewed, Says 'Party Above Government'**

90AS0290A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi  
25 Jul 90 pp 1, 10

[Interview with Somappa Rayappa Bommai, Chairman Janata Dal, by Surya Prakash; New Delhi, 25 July; first few paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] New Delhi, 25 July—Mr. Somappa Rayappa Bommai, chairman of Janata Dal, said that he did not belong to anyone; his loyalty was to the party. Mr. Bommai admitted that Deputy Prime Minister Devi Lal and some other people did help him to become chairman of the party. However, he added, this help would not affect his decisions and that he was going to function without fear or being partial to anyone.

Mr. Bommai admitted that the party was adversely affected by the present crisis. He said that the party needed tighter discipline and that he was working on it. Mr. Bommai said this in a special interview given to the JANSATTA. The problems for Janata Dal appeared a few days after Mr. Bommai was elected chairman of the party.

The Janata Dal chairman further said that Mr. Chotalla was appointed chief minister without consulting him and he had to pay the price. He added that central ministers Arun Nehru, Aarif Mohammad Khan, and Satyapal Malik should not have submitted their resignations without first discussing with him. He did not approve of using resignation as a pressure tactic. Mr. Bommai commented on many topics during this interview. These included the present problems within the party, its influence on the party, the role of the party in the government, and the performance of the Rashtariya Morcha government.

Mr. Bommai said that a party is a must for forming government, therefore, the party must remain strong and cautious. He added, "The party is above the government, and the country is above everything." The Janata Dal chairman said that the positions of party chairman and the prime minister complemented each other and both must respect each other and work together. He continued that these positions were not superior to each other. Important parts of the interview are given below.

[Prakash] What relationship should the party and the government have?

[Bomma] They are like two wheels of a carriage. They must be fully aligned. This cohesion can be developed only if all policy matters are discussed at the party level before decisions at the government level are made. The party should scrutinize all government actions closely because the party must communicate all this with the people. There should be a continued dialogue between the two. The prime minister and I have already agreed on it.

[Prakash] You seem to give priority to the party.

[Bomma] Yes. The party is above the government and the country is above the party. However, it does not mean that the party should interfere in daily administration. It must make sure that promises are followed through.

[Prakash] Won't that make the party too strong?

[Bomma] No. It should be kept in mind that the government was formed by the party. Therefore, the party should be strong and alert.

[Prakash] This means that the party chairman must be very powerful and this might lead to his differences with the prime minister.

[Bomma] There is no such thing as a powerful chairman. The party chairman should do his duty as the chairman. Both these positions (party chairman and prime minister) compliment each other. They should work together and have respect and faith in each other. Neither of them is above the other in position. Basically, they both work for the party.

[Prakash] That means that you are not worried about any conflict between the two positions.

[Bomma] There is no concern for any clash. We should not let our personal likes, dislikes, and ambitions interfere in our work. We should work keeping the welfare of the masses in our minds.

[Prakash] Let us talk about the recent crisis within the Janata Dal. Hasn't it hurt the party image much?

[Bomma] I agree that the party image was hurt by this crisis, but not much. We reinstated the clean image of the party fast. The recent crisis reminded us of Nehru's time when decisions were made after consultation with the state chief ministers and leaders. It was a federal administration and democracy in the real sense. Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi had destroyed this system. Regional unrest in Punjab, Jammu, and Kashmir was caused by this practice. A federal and democratic leadership has emerged since last week.

[Prakash] Do you think that the Congress(I) has benefited by the internal strife within your party?

[Bomma] No. That is why they did not make any noise. The truth is the Congress(I) is a dictatorial party and it lacks courage. It is also worried about the same thing happening to it.

[Prakash] You are considered a Devi Lal man. Doesn't this cause problems between you and the prime minister?

[Bomma] This impression was given by some vested interests. Part of the press is angry at Devi Lal and it talked a lot about this issue. This impression should change now that I am elected by popular support. Devi Lal did support me openly, but so did the other leaders like George [Fernandes], Ajit [Singh], Chander Shekhar, Mulayam [Singh Yadav], Chiman Bhai [Patel], and Arun Nehru.

[Prakash] However, it was Devi Lal who had proposed your name for this position.

[Bomma] You have to get everyone's support in any election. All this will not interfere in discharging my duties. I received Om Prakash Chautala's resignation twice. What more do you want? All factions of the party consider me their leader. I have used the same criteria in my work without any fear or being partial to anyone. I received Mr. Chautala's resignation and objected when it was said the prime minister had given me an ultimatum. The prime minister even apologized over that. This also proves that I do not belong to anyone. I am faithful to my party only.

[Prakash] Do you consider resignations by Arun Nehru, Satyapal Malik, and Aarif Mohammad Khan as a lack of discipline?

[Bomma] They should not have submitted resignations and should have consulted with the party chairman. In the future, any minister desiring to resign must submit his resignation either to the prime minister or the party chairman. They should not go to the news media. They should talk to the press, the Parliament, and the Vidhan Sabha only after their resignations are accepted. No honest resignation should be used as a pressure tactic.

[Prakash] Would you consider it appropriate that the prime minister sends his resignation to you?

[Bomma] He did not only gave his resignation to me but also discussed it with me first.

[Prakash] What do you think of this government?

[Bomma] The government should check inflation and reduce prices and government spendings. This government must demonstrate its competence and control the economic situation. I support early elections in Punjab. Some party, even Mann's party, must establish a government there.

**Paper Interviews Chandra Shekhar**

46001723 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 25 Jun 90 pp 1, 9

[Article by M. D. Nalapat]

[Text] Bangalore, 24 Jun—Soon after the deputy prime minister, Mr Devi Lal, fired the salvo against those who regard Mr Vishwanath Pratap Singh and not him as an architect of the 1989 Janata Dal victory, Mr Chandra Shekhar, senior leader of the Dal, criticised the functioning of the National Front government on several fronts.

Although he did not once refer to the Prime Minister by name in his 40-minute exclusive interview to TOINS, his dissatisfaction with the present dispensation was evident.

[Nalapat] You have recently attacked the new industrial policy of the government. Why?

[Shekhar] Because it favours multinationals at the expense of Indian companies. The experience of developing countries after World War II has shown that any economy that gave licence to the MNC [Multinational Corporation]s remained poor and politically became a dictatorship. I am in favour of removing controls on domestic industries, so long as they are in the priority sector. Also, public sector companies should be given autonomy. But this is different from pandering to the MNCs. My sense of national honour is hurt when foreigners dictate to us.

[Nalapat] What basis do you have to hold such a view?

[Shekhar] Look at the statement of Ms Carla Hills, the U.S. trade representative, that India has been 'forced' to liberalise because of U.S. pressure. If 'liberalisation' means allowing the MNCs to do what they want, I am against it. My attack on the new policy should not be taken as a personal attack on Ajit (Singh)—industries minister—for whom I have a great regard. It is just that I feel the government should have discussed the proposed changes fully with economists and others. To just promulgate a policy without wide discussion is wrong.

[Nalapat] What steps would you suggest?

[Shekhar] I am for self-reliance. Also, we must bear in mind that our most abundant asset is manpower. Thus we must encourage those technologies that allow our manpower to work in more comfort and dignity, rather than those that replace men with machines.

[Nalapat] What is the record of the present government on the economic front?

[Shekhar] Very disappointing. Prices are still shooting up, the common man is undergoing agony and the employment position has not improved. What is worse, there do not seem to be any sign of improvement in these factors.

We have been hearing a lot of brave words. But just tall talk won't help. A climate has to be created that promotes austerity and growth.

[Nalapat] In other words, more taxes?

[Shekhar] Not necessarily. Fiscal measures are useless at promoting austerity, as our experience (with high tax rates) has shown. Rather, there must be a national reawakening that promotes swadeshi and savings. A JP or a Gandhi is what we need.

[Nalapat] What about the political situation?

[Shekhar] It is even worse than the economic. Punjab and Kashmir are getting worse and Assam has joined them. Now even Tamil Nadu looks in danger of moving towards anarchy.

The last six or eight months have been characterised by a complete absence of beneficial change. Among those in authority, there does not seem to be even a debate on what is needed to be done to set things right.

[Nalapat] What would you do? In Punjab or Kashmir, for example?

[Shekhar] I would talk to the youth and try to wean them away from terrorism by providing employment opportunities. Even if all do not get converted, some will. And that is a start.

The mistake made (by the new government) was to scream from the rooftops that all that the previous government did was bad. Not only did this not cut any ice with the militants, it demoralised those who had been battling terrorism for years. A new government cannot simply disown the past. Things are not so simple.

I feel that we should open a dialogue with different sets of people, especially in Punjab. Let there be the sound of talk rather than that of guns. We should declare certain areas to be 'peace zones' and allow people to express their views freely without locking them up. In Punjab, at least, I am hopeful that such a policy can succeed, and elections even can be held once the situation improves. In the final analysis, democratic means should prevail over other methods.

[Nalapat] There has been a lot of talk recently about the Mandal commission.

[Shekhar] My view is that caste-based reservation is a necessary policy that must be continued. However, let me remind you that the Kaka Kalelkar committee had recommended years ago that every 10 years the list of communities given the benefit of reservation should be revised. And that those who have come up the social ladder should be removed from the list and those who have come down should be added. Basically, I am in favour of introducing economic reservation along with caste-based norms. Why should a poor individual suffer just because he belongs to a particular caste.

[Nalapat] You seem to be very unhappy about the present situation...

[Shekhar] Yes, and you (the press) write that it is because I am 'frustrated' at not having power. I don't understand how those who have cannily manipulated themselves into top position can be considered saints, while I who have no position am 'greedy' for power. If I were 'greedy' for power, I could have joined the cabinets of Indiraji or Morarjibhai, as certain others did.

[Nalapat] You feel the press is not being fair to you...?

[Shekhar] I won't say that. But it is a fact that, especially since the past decade, the focus of the press has shifted from issues to personalities. And to exploit the change, a breed of politicians has emerged that kowtows to the press. I abhor such subservience. They get a big build-up.

Indeed, so obvious has been the dependence of certain politicians or the press that industrial groups are trying to use the media to force the government to attack their enemies or promote their interests. This is a very bad trend.

[Nalapat] What is your view about the future?

[Shekhar] There are sincere people who genuinely want the country to progress. Such people can be brought together and beneficial change take place. I am optimistic about the future.

Male (UNI): Meanwhile, the Prime Minister today asserted his government never acted "under pressure" and that national interests were fully safe in its hands.

Replying to a question at a press conference on Mr Shekhar's criticism of the industrial policy, he said, "Madhuji (the finance minister, Prof Madhu Dandavate) had written a letter to the former explaining the policy."

## Aspects of Punjab Problem Discussed

### Sikh Leader Interviewed

90AS0157A Delhi DINMAN TIMES in Hindi  
10-16 Jun 90 p 7

[Interview with Manjit Singh Calcutta, by Jyoti Punvani; "Unity of the Country Can Not Be Enforced by the Army"; first few paragraphs are introduction; date and place not specified.]

[Text] Manjit Singh Calcutta, the secretary of the managing committee of Shiromani Gurudwara, does consider Vishwanath Pratap Singh's government friendly, but he also has some grievances against it. He says there is not a single person in this government who has an understanding of the Sikh's problems. According to Calcutta, the Sikhs have great hatred for two members of their own community, Buta Singh and Harkishen Singh Surjit of the Marxist Communist Party.

Manjit Singh complains that whenever the prime minister visits Punjab he also brings along with him Surjit Singh. Surjit Singh could not get a single one of his own people elected in the parliamentary election. He himself could reach parliament only when the Akali Dal helped him.

According to Mr. Calcutta, the unity of the country cannot be maintained with the help of the army. It comes from within the hearts. Following are excerpts from Jyoti Punvani's talks with him.

[Punvani] Do you agree that now the people have stopped even thinking about the Punjab problem?

[Calcutta] If the people have really stopped thinking about the Punjab problem, they better completely forget about it.

You can see for yourself how within Russia, the strongest country in the world, small nations are raising their heads with courage. A very narrow approach to evaluating nationalism is not going to work any more. We must admit that India is a multi-national and multi-communal country. You cannot force unity on the people. No army can establish unity. It is born within the hearts of the people.

[Punvani] Where did all the mess-up begin? After Vishwanath Pratap Singh's first visit to Amritsar, the hope arose for a solution to the Punjab problem.

[Calcutta] We still respect the front government as a cooperating one, not as a hostile one as was the Rajiv government. The people of Punjab still trust V.P. Singh's goodwill, despite the fact that he has done very little to solve the problem, and also despite the exhibitionism displayed during his visit on the day of Baisakhi. The local administration did not want the people's participation in that visit. Therefore, they sent a note of caution to V.P. Singh suggesting that the people feared a bomb explosion at that time. Hundreds of thousands of people visit the Golden Temple on the occasion of Baisakhi, but when V.P. Singh was going to leave for Jalianwala Bagh all the roads to the temple were closed until two o'clock in the afternoon. Even the vehicles carrying 'Karn Prasad' were not allowed to pass. I had registered a complaint against this with the officials.

[Punvani] Do you think V.P. Singh knew all about it?

[Calcutta] I don't think so. I do not find any one in the government who has an understanding of the Sikh problem, and who knows the pulse of the people.

Two people belonging to the same Sikh community have neglected them very much. One is Buta Singh who is no longer in the government, and the other is Harkishan Singh Surjit of the CPI(Marxist) [Communist Party of India-Marxist]. Whenever the prime minister travels to Punjab, he is always accompanied by Surjit Singh just to show that there is also a Sikh with him. In the elections for the lower house in Punjab not a single member of Surjit's group has ever been elected. Surjit himself was

for the first time nominated for the upper house by Akali Dal; later he joined the lower house.

Now he gives us sermons. He ridicules us from public platforms. He had been exultant as an advisor to Indira Gandhi. Rajiv Gandhi also used to take advice from him. Now Vishwanath Pratap Singh is also doing the same. I am surprised at how the man who went along with the previous government, responsible for creating the Punjab problem, is still continuing.

[Punvani] What is your opinion about Indra Kumar Gujral and Ram Jethmalani?

[Calcutta] Indra Kumar knows the minds of the Sikhs more than Surjit, but I doubt whether he is ever consulted in this regard.

The prime minister has been emphasizing upon a national consensus. But, if the Akalis begin suggesting solutions to West Bengal's problems with all the other baseless parties of the state supporting it, what will the Bengalis think? Or, if the DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam—Dravidian Progressive Foundation] proposes a solution before Maharashtra and the Akalis endorse it, will it be considered a national consensus? The government must decidedly consult the Akalis on the Punjab problem, and if necessary all of the groups, but so far the cabinet committee has not contacted them. The so-called national consensus was merely an excuse for Indira Gandhi to postpone a solution to the Punjab problem. V.P. Singh himself is being entrapped into this.

Even the vague mechanism suggested by V.P. Singh has not been implemented. He had declared that persons dismissed from the army would be released from prison and would be reinstated in their jobs. But, 17 out of 46 dismissed people are still in prison. The bureaucracy in Punjab is making a mockery of reemployment. They are being offered fourth class services in Kerala.

[Punvani] Is your party, the Akali Dal (Badal group), going to oppose the postponement of elections in Punjab?

[Calcutta] At present it is dangerous to initiate any kind of movement in Punjab. Security forces are so much penetrated therein that any non-violent movement can turn violent any time.

Holding elections there is a complex problem. The Congress(I) that had held elections there peacefully in November—and it had been pleased with that—the same Congress cooperated with the front government on the issue of amending the Constitution to extend the president's rule in Punjab. If elections could be held peacefully at that time, why not today? Is it because they are not able to make the situations favorable to them? This confirms our belief that both the Congress(I) and the terrorist forces are joining hands in precluding holding of elections. At the time of the previous elections Congress had assured Mann's victory by putting Tohra and Badal in prison.

[Punvani] It is commonplace in Punjab to accuse any Sikh of conniving with Congress(I). Did they also accuse you of being close to the governor Ray?

[Calcutta] On a personal level, I had been close to him since [our] days in Calcutta. Had I sold my soul away in his hands, I would have gotten some advantage out of it. I would have, at least, won a seat in the parliament. On the contrary, I was the only secretary of the Gurudwara management committee who was not nominated to the governing board of any institution.

[Punvani] What is your opinion about Nirmal Mukherji?

[Calcutta] He is a bureaucrat. He has changed nothing. We are continuing with the same director-general of police as well as the inspector general. The whole administrative system is the same. This is to convince V.P. Singh that his Punjab policies are correct.

Despite central rule, such means would have been adopted so that the Sikhs would have realized that they were co-partners in the administration. The local people should have at least, if no more, been appointed officers. But the government has not appointed a single Sikh either to the central or state government or elsewhere in the country.

[Punvani] What do you have to say about governor Arjun Singh?

[Calcutta] Did he do anything for the Sikhs? It is the same as in place of taking away all the powers from General Dayal, responsible for directing Operation Blue Star, he was sent as governor to the Andamans.

[Punvani] Could you give some suggestions as to how the government should solve the Punjab problem? It appears that Mann has disappointed his followers.

[Calcutta] The people's trust in Mann had been a result of the hopelessness of the situation. Everyone knew that he was no politician. Whenever anyone enters into any kind of compromise with the Center on a personal level, history throws him into a dumpster. People of different ideologies should talk together. The majority opinion of the Sikhs is totally different from that of the other people in the country on such issues as Operation Blue Star, Indira Gandhi, and the 1984 riots.

The Sikhs must be recognized as a sub-nation if they are looking for an identity of their own. If their wishes are termed separatist, there will be a day when they will actually prove to be separatist.

[Punvani] But don't you think that the government is well aware of all that?

[Calcutta] The present government is under compulsion to follow the Punjab policy of the previous government. It has not expressed its will to change that policy. In order to be able to do this, it will have to take the rest of

India together with itself. It will have to take at least the local leaders together. But this government also is afraid of losing the majority.

But one or the other prime minister will have to take the risk of changing the previous policies both for the sake of his party as well as his own future. Possibly only then the rest of India will support him. The fundamental question of the Punjab problem is: Do you want a neglected community of Sikhs or a self-respecting and satisfied community?

[Punvani] What is the situation now after the resignation of Professor Darshan Singh? It appears that the SGPC [Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee] is in a fix after his resignation.

[Calcutta] I do not want to tell the press anything about it. However, the situation is that his resignation has not yet been accepted nor has he taken his resignation back.

Otherwise, everything is going well with the SGPC. The Golden Temple has been well organized. After 1970 our budget has for the first time crossed a total of 180 million rupees.

#### Editorial Criticizes Appointments

90AS0157B Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi  
11 Jun 90 p 6

[Editorial: "Two Appointments in Punjab"]

[Text] The appointment of Virendra Verma as governor of Punjab is indicative of only one thing, that the central government is now anxious to hold elections there. With the difficulty it faced during the period it extended president's rule, it does not want to go through the same again. Virendra Verma is decidedly a politician. But it is difficult to count him among such politicians as Arjun Singh and Siddharth Shankar Ray. Arjun Singh was made governor to woo the Akalis. He did achieve success as became evident from the settlement between Rajiv and Longawala. The holding of elections in Punjab and the formation of the Barnala government both were the outcome of this process. But the terrorists sprayed this achievement with bullets. Thereafter, Siddharth Shankar Ray was sent over to deal with the terrorists. The Ray Riebero team, using bullets for bullets, freed Punjab, if not from the terrorists for sure from the fear of terrorists. But the Akali leaders, because of their inertness, could not utilize this opportunity. As a result, when the new government, in a bid to appease the Akalis, appointed an insipid and mild person like Nirmal Mukherji as the governor of Punjab, the terrorists started operating openly. Punjab again became as terrorized as it was in 1984. The government was left with no courage to hold elections for the assembly there. Now, Virendra Verma has started talking about winning the hearts of the people of Punjab. This means a message to hold elections. However, the question is whether Virendra Verma, who doesn't have a single achievement to his credit in his long

political career, will be able to perform the miracle of holding elections in Punjab?

Akali leaders, by appointing Ranjit Singh as the Jathedar of Akali Takht, have made their first move in the game of chess. Nothing different was expected from Tohra or Badal who are scared of terrorists themselves. But, by offering Jathedar's position to a criminal terrorist accused of assassinating Nirankari Baba Gurbhachan Singh, who has spent 10 years in Tihar Jail of New Delhi, the Akalis are making the path to holding elections rather thorny. This new appointment to the Akali Takht will encourage the terrorists all the more and remove the political lives of people such as Badal away from the mainstream. This decision of the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee is a new version of the old game of stapling Sikh politics with separatist terrorism. At the same time, transforming the occasions of the last rites for slain terrorists into observances of martyrdom is turning the Sikh psyche pro-violence. In addition, by surpassing the Simranjit Singh Mann's terrorism by Ranjit Singh's the Akali leaders have also sown the seeds for turning the Punjab legislative assembly elections violent, as was witnessed in Assam during the student agitation which coincided with the assembly elections there. Even before Virendra Verma could settle down in his job, the Akalis have already laid the gunpowder.

#### Normalcy in Punjab Prerequisite to Elections

90AS0160A Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi  
14 Jun 90 p 6

[Editor of Punjabi daily NAWAN ZAMANA and former member of parliament, Jagjit Singh Anand, Analyzes the Punjab situation: "The Public and the Leaders Are All Frightened There"]

[Text] For the past two months there has been an ongoing debate concerning the steps that should be taken to restore normalcy in Punjab.

Many people, whose motives are above suspicion, believe that repeated extensions of the President's rule are further complicating the problem. Finally, the time has come when the people should be allowed to exercise their democratic rights in elections.

On the other hand, there are also people who admit that the situation is getting steadily worse and if elections are held, obstructionists, by coming to power, will misuse democratic institutions to achieve their despicable goals.

This writer lays no claims to being any great intellectual or scholar. He only claims to be a political worker who has been following the Punjab problem since its inception. We believe that democracy is no abstract principle and a democratic system is not a formal dogma. We believe that when a voter cannot exercise his voting rights without fear or intimidation, until then no elections can be held freely at all. We also believe that even though such a democracy is very essential, it is not an indispensable requirement.



There is no argument as to the form of the Punjab government. It is the country's integrity and unity that is at stake there, and integrity should certainly be given a higher priority than the form of the government.

The bitter truth is that an invisible war is going on in the state. This has been thrust upon us by rulers from the western border and on hints from those powers which, ever since independence, have always been hostile to India. Groups of extremists, trained by [our] neighboring country, are determined to dismember our country. None of their demands can be negotiated. This is not a matter of give and take or an agreement with a recognized political entity. In reality, these groups have lost their relevance and nothing can be hoped for from them. Whatever is written hereafter is based on talks with those people who have now become victims of this problem.

A ballot cannot be an answer to a bullet. Reason cannot be an answer to arms. But first let us take a bird's eye view of the events of the last few months.

Conditions improved a bit following "Operation Black Thunder". During last September-October, it began to look as though the extremists were losing heart. But following the announcement of parliamentary elections and also because of Governor Siddhartha Ray Shankar's weakness, again the conditions began to deteriorate. Presenting Simranjit Singh Mann as the future chief minister, following formation of the new government in Delhi, was a mistaken strategy. Extremists construed it as the government's weakness and the law and order machinery also began to get demoralized. Past attempts at rejuvenating the administration have met with little success. Here are details of the actual conditions.

The police administration of Taran Taran district has been paralyzed for the last few years and now the same fate has overtaken the Amritsar's Majitha, Batala, Zira, Dharamkot, and Malwala police districts.

There has been a sharp rise in the number of extremists and their groups. Once these groups used to roam around at night in [groups of] nine-10 people. Nowadays, these groups roam about in broad daylight in groups of 35-50 people. A friend remarked recently: "Taran Taran is touching Beas river and across the river Khalistan is practically a reality."

Not only murders, but the number of kidnappings and ransoms has risen sharply. Now the situation is such that the victims dare not report to the police the misdeeds of these murderers. Here are a few instances.

Two extremists of Ropar district, Sant Singh Gigomajra and his friend, died when the explosives they were carrying went off. The All India Sikh Students Federation and other extremist groups declared them martyrs and their funeral services were arranged openly. Gujraj Singh, alias Toofan Singh Toofan, was killed in a genuine police encounter near the Sri Hargobindpur police station of Batala district. He was implicated in 10 murders. The number of people attending his memorial service

was estimated by reliable and unreliable sources as anywhere from 50,000 to 200,000.

The police arrested a few suspected extremists in the Baba Bakala police station of Majitha police district. This took place at the beginning of May. Thousands of people continued to surround the police station until the police released the suspected extremists.

Two weeks ago, a tractor laden with AK-47 rifles was seized on the Indo-Pakistani border. Investigations later revealed that seven such tractors had succeeded in crossing the border by eluding the police.

Here are a few more examples.

A report was published on 22 May. The report, filed from Zira, said that Panthic Committee member Vasan Singh Jafarwal and other extremists had charged the notorious extremist Paramjit Singh Panjwar with appropriating 80 AK-77 rifles by treacherously murdering another extremist, Pargat Singh.

Speaking at a function held in the office of the daily HIND SAMACHAR for the martyr Kochh family, Governor Nirmal Kumar Mukerjee disclosed that there is a flood of arms in Pakistan. Every tenth person has arms. He described the entry of arms as one of the several reasons for the deterioration of conditions in the state.

How far extremist the traditional Akali Dal is can be judged from this fact. When the murderous attack on Gurcharan Singh Tohra took place, no Akali leader condemned it. Prakash Singh Badal expressed sympathy with Tohra in his personal capacity. Tohra, when asked about his assailants, said that only God or the Delhi government knew.

It is not only the Akali leadership that is running scared. On 21 May, this writer had an opportunity to speak with a prominent leader of the Punjab CPI [Communist Party of India]. The picture he presented is given below.

1. In his district, Ferozepur, the lower level police have become ineffective. Out of fear, the police station chief and the DSP [Deputy Superintendent of Police] level officials have given in before the extremists. They pay the extremists regular monthly protection money, which they collect from the people and small criminal gangs.

2. The victims of ransom are getting it from both ends. First, they pay ransom to the kidnapping extremists. Later, the police harass them in the name of investigation. The only escape is through bribes.

3. The administrative system of pre-parliamentary election days was correct. The extremists would attack selected targets only after full preparations. Now, they roam freely and plunder at will.

4. Following the announcement of parliamentary elections, the extremists began to experience relief. They came out of their hideouts. In the name of election publicity, they mixed with the masses and established

new contacts, which were earlier limited to their associates. Now they have also moved into new areas of Ferozepur.

Following the election victory, they felt that they were above everyone else and that they need not stand in fear of the administration.

Even though Simranjit Singh Mann has lost his stature, but the extremists' base has further shrunk. Now they have acquired more hideouts and the people cannot refuse them shelter.

Now the extremist leaders are not worried about Khalistan because they have amassed unlimited property and only their writ runs in the region.

Harvesting is not possible without the permission of violent groups. Harvesting was not permitted for several days in the villages of Mand area and Ferozepur villages. These crops served as places for hiding. When the harvesting was done, the extremists had to be paid a 50-percent share.

Through the agency of village heads, councilmen, and council chiefs, the extremists have collected revenues of 50-100 rupees per acre.

In Ferozepur Cantt, Moga, Zira, and other major markets, traders and farmers have been forced to pay a bandit tax at the rate of one rupee per sack.

In Ferozepur, the story of the CPI District Committee member Comrade Gurbakhsh Singh is very heart rending. On 8 January, his three sons and a son Vadhu were murdered. [as printed] In the end of February, his remaining two sons succumbed to the extremists. Now he is the only remaining member of his family. For several days the extremists did not allow his crops, which were spread over 16 acres, to be harvested. He approached his area's police station chief and the DSP. They sent him harvesting combines. Three machines never arrived. The fourth machine harvested crops over three acres. After that, harvesting of the crop was discontinued on the grounds that the machine had broken down. The village had two combines. The owner of one combine promised Gurbakhsh Singh 4,000 kilograms (approx.) wheat in exchange for all his crops. But when the extremists wrote him a note, he went back on his promise. As a result the entire crop was ruined.

The situation has deteriorated to such an extent that people do not even oppose rape. According to the Ferozepur district DIG [Deputy Inspector General], Jinda, who was killed last month, had forcibly raped over 50 young girls. The police learned of his nefarious activities only after his death. Now, another trend is emerging. The extremists take nude pictures of young girls in embarrassing situations and use these for blackmail.

The son of the police inspector of Dera Baba Nanak police station was kidnapped. A sum of 500,000 rupees was demanded in the form of ransom. It was settled at

250,000 rupees. It is being said openly that Babu Trilok Singh, father of Indira Gandhi's assailant, Satwant Singh, acted as intermediary.

The 11-year-old son of Narinder Singh Kohlon, resident of Sate Hussainpur in Batala district, was kidnapped. Here too a ransom of 500,000 rupees was demanded and the transaction was settled at half the amount. In this case, the father of the notorious extremist Dharam Singh Kasaniwal acted as intermediary.

There are nearly 100 iron casting units on Batala-Amritsar bypass. Over half of the owners do not visit these premises. The remaining half, who work there, pay the extremists 20,000-50,000 rupees. These people are so scared that they do not even identify themselves but only talk about their comrades.

Now let us talk of those people who speak of aligning political forces, creating a consensus over the issue, starting a united campaign with the support of the people, and fulfilling the former conditions of starting the political process. Let us examine each political party one by one. If all the factions of Akali Dal are united, it can be a major force. But they are unable to come together. Their leaders are murdered, but even then they hesitate to speak against the extremists.

The Congress is not only suffering from divisions, but ever since it lost Delhi, it has lost heart. Its only activity now is its Chairman Beant Singh's visits to the homes of the Congressite victims.

The influence of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] is confined to the cities only. Its workers are spurred into activity only when one of their national leaders visits Punjab. The CPI and CPM [Marxist Communist Party], along with other groups, stage sit-ins against inflation and other problems. They hold rallies but their activity, also, has diminished considerably.

In many areas, the comrades failed to hold meetings even though the announcements had been made. In certain areas even the process of renewal of party membership, which is mandated by the Constitution, has not been carried out. Renewal is done in meetings of branches, but these meetings have not been held. Assuming that everyone is ready for renewal, the formality of renewal is completed.

The bitter truth is that the situation cannot be saved without genuine efforts by the security forces. The political parties have not lost their relevance so far, but if the present conditions persist that day may not be far off. The people must get an opportunity, but only when the society can once again guarantee security of life.

Under the present conditions, only those people who are daydreaming and who are miles away from reality can talk of free, pure, fearless, and peaceful elections.

## Papers Report Irregularities in Local Elections

### Calcutta—Planning

46001719A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
24 Jun 90 p 9

[Article by Sanjoy Basak from "Insight"]

[Text] February 27, 1990. At around 8 pm, there was a sudden flurry of activity along Park Street as traffic sergeants and some senior police officials got busy regulating the traffic. The reason: an extremely senior member of the Left Front government was on his way to have dinner with a top official of the Calcutta Police. This, of course, had surprised most senior police officials. For, never in the past, had such a thing happened, especially since there was no particular occasion to celebrate. At 8:30 pm, the Left Front minister reached the residence of the police official and remained there for three hours.

After this first "unusual meeting," as a police official described it, the two gentlemen met another three times and spent long hours in discussion. Although no one can say for certain what transpired at these meetings, the intelligent guess was that the meetings had "something to do with the forthcoming municipal poll and some transfers in the Calcutta Police." Gradually matters became clear. Some police officers, who were reluctant to obey the directives of the local CPI(M) [Communist Party of India (Marxist)] leaders or were sympathetic towards the Congress(I) or other political parties, were quietly transferred out of Calcutta Police. The strategists of the ruling party were aware that without the connivance and active support of the entire police force, it would be impossible to get an absolute majority in the civic poll. Transfers alone would not solve the problem, so the threat was delivered: the message that clearly went down the line was that heads would roll if the CPI(M) performance at the polls was poor. The second phase of the operation unfolded shortly. A section of the leaders and ministers of the CPI(M), who today control the city's underworld, were summoned and told to prepare the cadres for necessary action. A CPI(M) minister, Mr Shyamal Chakraborty, and a party MP [Member of Parliament] of North 24-Parganas, Mr Tarit Topdar, were also asked to provide youths from the districts. The strategists argued that if the local antisocials were used, they would be recognised by the voters and the candidates. And once identified the police would have to arrest them.

A week before the civic election, the city police started the so-called preventive arrests. Altogether 71 persons were arrested. Interestingly, notorious criminals and underworld dons of central and north Calcutta were spared. These were the criminals who were once with the Congress(I) and had subsequently switched allegiance.

The leaders of underworld of central Calcutta were reportedly briefed by the local party MLA [Member of Legislative Assembly], Mr Lakhi Dey, about the modus operandi. It had earlier been decided that the cadres

would concentrate their energies on central and northern parts of the city. Central Calcutta, particularly, the Muchipara-Sealdah belt, has for long been the target of CPI(M). Earlier attempts to make inroads into this area were successfully thwarted by the Congress(I) leader, Mr Somen Mitra, and the local councillor, Mr Tapas Roy. The CPI(M) had set its eye on the Muchipara-Sealdah belt not only because it was the Congress(I)'s bastion but also because it is one of the most lucrative areas in central Calcutta for collecting "funds": this belt houses brothels, illicit liquor dens, big trading centres and gambling dens. And for all these years, the Congress(I) had been happily reaping the benefits of controlling this area. At least 2,000 prostitutes and about 50 gambling and illicit liquor den owners regularly paid protection money to the local Congress(I) bosses. Another large sum came through extortion of traders in the Sealdah area.

The CPI(M) made the first move to capture the area on 14 May 1989, when fierce fighting broke out between the Congress(I) and the CPI(M). Of the 2,000 prostitutes and nautch girls, 500 shifted their allegiance to the CPI(M). The CPI(M) finally lost the battle as the police remained impartial and antisocials of both the groups were arrested. In the last parliamentary election, the Congress(I) MP, Mr Ajit Panja, led by at least 4,000 votes from this belt. For the civic polls, the CPI(M) leaders did not want to take any chances.

Nandalal Bose, popularly known as Chor Nanda, a criminal who operates in northern and eastern parts of the city was contacted and briefed by CPI(M) leaders just before the polls. Nandalal, who started his criminal career under the tutelage of the former Chhatra Parishad leader, Mr Ashok Deb, later joined hands with the Congress(I) MLA, Mr Somen Mitra. However, Nandalal, who increasingly gained notoriety as a criminal, switched over to the CPI(M) in 1985, since Mr Mitra could not provide him with adequate police protection. Nanda negotiated with the CPI(M) through one of his aunts who is an active CPI(M) worker of North 24-Parganas. Chor Nanda was first used by the CPI(M) during the 1987 parliamentary elections.

In other parts of central Calcutta, the dreaded mafia dons—Langra Dilip, Ayub, and China Asif—were also contacted. Another CPI(M) activist, Shiraz, who is reportedly a leader of a hawkers' union controlled by the CITU, was also told to prepare for battle.

Although these criminals were ready for action, the party continued to rely heavily on the strategy of bringing in antisocials from the districts. The evening before the civic elections, a large number of youths and at least 300 women, entered parts of central Calcutta. They were housed in private hotels and brothels in the area. The local CPI(M) leaders then handed them three kinds of electoral rolls, marked "A," "F," and "V."

The electoral rolls marked "A" carried the names of the voters who were "against" the CPI(M), those marked "F" indicated voters who were in "favour" of the party

while the rolls that carried the letter "V" signified "vacillating" voters. It was finally decided that the voters under the "A" and "V" lists would not be allowed to cast their votes.

Sources disclosed that antisocials were provided by Nanda and some CPI(M) leaders from Belghoria, Belgachia, Dum Dum, Barrackpore, Sodepur, Agarpara, Belegkata and Baranagar. Around 10 pm, on the night before the elections, there was sudden and heavy bombing in parts of north and central Calcutta. No one knew why the bombs were being hurled or who was responsible for it. But it had the desired effect. The local people were scared and they rushed indoors. The terror tactics had begun. Policemen, expectedly, did not appear too enthusiastic about apprehending the culprits. The Eastern Frontier Rifles personnel, who were kept ready for action, remained confined to the Muchipara police station.

While Langra Dilip controlled the polling in the Jorasanko area, China Asif, with his henchmen, Shahzad, Saheb, Javed, Nadir and Sarvar, struck terror on Central Avenue.

The day after the elections, almost all the leading dailies carried photographs of the criminals moving around with arms. The CPI(M) leaders claimed that they were hired by the Congress(I) and GANASHAKTI, the party organ, reprinted their photographs and identified them as Congress(I) antisocials. Cross-checking, however, revealed that the antisocials had been inaccurately identified. But despite this the police has now been asked to arrest those whose names appeared in GANASHAKTI. The deputy commissioner, detective department, Mr Prashun Mukherjee, promptly announced that one Pancha Biswas would be arrested as he was wanted in connection with a criminal case. It may be mentioned that Pancha's name figured in the list of Congress(I) criminals provided by GANASHAKTI. As a police official said, in Calcutta the criminals have realised that in order to survive one must "surrender" to the CPI(M).

#### Calcutta—Election Day

46001719B Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
24 Jun 90 p 9

[Article by Pranay Sharma from "Insight"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] June 17, 1990: It was the day of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation elections. The long queues early in the morning in front of the two main polling stations in ward number 48 of the Muchipara area, the Goenka College for Commerce and the Bowbazar High School, made the sitting Congress(I) councillor, Mr Tapas Roy, happy. He heaved a sigh of relief. "Thank heavens for the fact that the people have really responded to our call to come and cast their votes early in the day," he thought with a smile on his face. But the smile turned into anguish within a few hours. Armed CPI(M) [Communist Party of India (Marxist) supporters joined the local toughs hired by the party when they saw

women from the red light area on Prem Chand Baral Street come out to vote in large numbers. A few bombs were enough to scare them away. And within a few minutes they were all inside their quarters. Seeing the prostitutes return without casting their votes, the Congress(I) workers knew that they would have to get into action fast if they had to win the polls. But they were no match for the Marxist cadres. The Congress(I) workers were soon outnumbered and mercilessly beaten by the CPI(M) activists.

The CPI(M) hoodlums had already taken over. The deputy commissioner (traffic), Mr Sandhi Mukherjee, who had come to the spot with the EFR personnel had also left within five minutes after staging a flag march. The Marxist cadres did not waste any more time. By noon polling in the area was over, with almost all the booths in area recording over 70 percent polling. The picture was no different in the neighbouring wards. Polling agents of Mr Swapan Dutta, the Congress(I) councillor from ward number 38, were beaten up and driven out by the Marxist cadres. Mr Nripa Ranjan Raha (ward number 49), Mr Shiv Kumar Khanna (ward number 36), Mr Jagadish Mitra (ward number 44) and a host of other Congress(I) councillors, including Mr Sawarmal Bhimsoria, Mr Om Poddar, Mr Anil Sharma, Mr Sushil Pal, Mr Jadab Mukherjee, Mr Pranab Basu who had contested from wards in the northern and north-eastern parts of the city, knew that they had lost the election long before 3:30 pm, the official time for the end of polling.

What happened in Muchipara, Amherst Street or other parts of north, east and central Calcutta on 17 June was part of a well-chalked out plan laid out by the CPI(M) to take control of the city. The CPI(M) had assessed its position correctly. Within the city, the Congress(I) clearly outnumbered it in terms of manpower. Moreover, in the last 13 years, the voters of Calcutta have also shown a preference for the Congress(I). Even in the last Lok Sabha elections, the Congress(I) managed to maintain its lead over the Left Front in 97 of the 141 wards of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation.

The gruesome attack on the state health department officials at Bantala certainly gave the Congress(I) the political handle they were looking for and this undoubtedly put the Left Front in a tight corner. In a bid to win over the voters of the metropolis, the CPI(M) leaders started issuing statements which were often contradictory and confusing. Even the staunch supporters of the Left Front, particularly women, started making critical remarks about the state government's handling of the Bantala issue. The CPI(M) assessed all this with mathematical precision. A survey conducted by the party to gauge the mood of the voters also that the Left Front would not be able to win more than 60 seats in the Calcutta Municipal Corporation.

A high level meeting of the CPI(M) leaders of the Calcutta district committee was held on 7 June. A

number of leaders, including Mr Biman Bose, Mr Lakshmi Sen, Mr Shyamal Chakraborty, Mr Manab Mukherjee and Mr Prasanta Chatterjee attended it. Strategies and tactics to wrest the wards from the Congress(I)'s clutches were discussed. It was decided that a large number of party workers from the neighbouring districts of North 24 Parganas, South 24 Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly would be brought in.

According to the CPI(M)'s assessment, the main Congress(I) resistance would come from Mr Somen Mitra, the PCC(I) [Pradesh Congress Committee (Indira)] general secretary and party MLA. The Marxists decided to launch their attack on Mr Mitra's citadel at Amherst Street and the areas surrounding it. For this the party had been preparing the groundwork for at least a year. A series of clashes have been taking place in Muchipara and Amherst Street in central Calcutta since June last year. Besides, local toughs owing allegiance to the Congress(I) have been won over by the Marxist leaders on the assurance that the criminal cases pending against them would be withdrawn. In order to concentrate its attention on Mr Somen Mitra's Assembly seat, Sealdah, the CPI(M) took over ward number 48 and 49 from the Forward Bloc and nominated two of the party's Bowbazar committee secretaries, Mr Prabir Chowdhury and Mr Provat Chatterjee to contest the polls. In the neighbouring ward, number 38, the CPI(M) nominated another local leader, Mr Salil Chakraborty to contest against another Mr Swapan Dutta, a close associate of the PCC(I) general secretary.

The tactics of the CPI(M) paid rich dividends. The Congress(I) managed to win only 37 out of the 141 seats in the Calcutta Municipal Corporation. Out of the four wards in the Sealdah Assembly constituency, the Congress(I) could manage to win only one—ward number 50.

However, the question that remains is: Had the Calcutta Municipal Corporation election's been rigged, how could the Congress(I) managed to win 37 seats? This is the question that is being asked loudly by the CPI(M) today. But there is obviously a reason behind this. Had it not given these seats to the Congress(I), the charges of a totally rigged election would gain 37 credibility.

Another thing that became clear from this election is that the CPI(M) is no longer confident of the people of Calcutta. Not only had they prevented the Congress(I) voters from casting their votes, but similar complaints were made by many supporters of the Left Front itself. But the CPI(M) knew that it could take no chances. If it has let the elections be free and fair, it may well have lost the battle. Hoodlums were given charge of the polling booths. Many supporters of the Left Front were told that their votes had already been cast when they turned up at the polling stations.

Will the people of Calcutta ever forgive the CPI(M) for flouting democracy in such a blatant manner?

### 'Small Parties...Terrorized'

46001719C Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English  
23 Jun 90 p 9

[Text] Even smaller parties like the SUCI [Socialist Unity Center of India] and the Indian People's Front that had fielded a number of candidates for the civic polls in Calcutta experienced the "terror" of the ruling party cadres on 17 June. Reacting to the day's events, both parties felt that there was a "blatant display of arms and extensive rigging" in the city and violence continued after the results were announced. This has been the trend since the last parliamentary elections and the pressure tactics were becoming more open and the role of the anti-socials more daring, they added.

The SUCI said that in Ward 116, its polling agent was turned out of the booth at Bani Niketan School at gun-point. In Ward 120, the parties decided to solve the problem of duplicate electoral rolls by disallowing the voters to cast their votes in one of the two booths but this collective decision was later overruled by the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India (Marxist)] and at the booth in Orient Day School outsiders stuffed ballot boxes with false votes.

Armed CPI(M) cadres brandishing pistols sent out the SUCI agent at two booths in Ward 83 of Kalighat area. Another agent was beaten up in the same ward. A woman agent of the SUCI at Deshbandhu Balika Vidyalaya was abused and forced to leave the polling station. In Ward 78, three booths were captured at Prabhati Shikshagar, Gyan Ghosh Polytechnic and polling station on Razab Ali Lane. At all these places nearly 150 people stormed into the booths and closed the doors. When the SUCI candidate of the ward, Mr Zahid Akhtar, informed the police, he was informed there was no force.

At Ward 126 in Sarsuna, the SUCI candidate was abused. Not only the candidate, Gauri Basu, but another woman agent was also sent out of the polling station. In Ward 69, at Birla Modern High School, CPI(M) cadres present in large numbers inside the polling station threatened voters and urged them in front of the presiding officer to vote for the Left Front candidates. In Ward 33, CPI(M) cadres did not allow known SUCI supporters to cast their votes even after they had brought ration cards.

The IPF [Indian People's Front] alleged that in Ward 9, its agents were threatened. At this ward in Sovabazar there was post-poll violence and armed CPI(M) cadres, including the victorious councillor of the party, went around houses of IPF supporters on 18 and 19 June and assaulted them. One of them, Mr Sanat Biswas, a lawyer, has not been able to return home even now fearing further attack. The IPF organized a demonstration in protest against the post-poll violence during the day. The IPF said false votes were cast in Wards 92, 104 and 105. A spokesman of the party regretted that the "lumpen elements" in the CPI(M) were gaining strength.

**CPI Acknowledgment**

46001719D Calcutta *THE SUNDAY STATESMAN*  
in English 8 Jul 90 p 9

[Text] In a resolution critical of the manner in which the Calcutta Municipal Corporation election was organized, the West Bengal State executive committee of the CPI [Communist Party of India] has said that "violent incidents, display of force in the presence of the police and rigging in some places during the Calcutta Corporation election cannot but create deep apprehension in the minds of all Leftist and democratic people."

This is the first time that the CPI—an important partner of the Left Front—has accepted that there was violence and rigging on the day of the civic election in Calcutta on 17 June. The resolution, which was adopted after a two-day meeting of the State executive committee, was made available to the Press on Saturday.

The resolution goes on to say that if such incidents continue to occur "people will lose faith in the election process and the muscle power of criminals will gain upper hand. All democratic people, and specially the Leftists, will have to guard against this danger and they must oppose this tendency in every way. The executive committee has appealed to all political parties to "take the initiative to prevent violence, coercion and use of criminals in elections and to ensure that the true opinions of the people were reflected in elections."

Mr Gurudas Dasgupta, a senior CPI leader, refused to elaborate on these points. "We are of the view that it has taken place," Mr Dasgupta said when asked if the source of information of the CPI State executive on rigging and violence was Press reports or if the party had depended on reports from its own cadres and supporters. He said the State council of the CPI would meet in the first week of August for an "in-depth study of the election experience and results."

The resolution, however, congratulated the people on ensuring victory for the Left Front in the Calcutta Corporation election and thought that "one of the reasons" of the success was the "work done" in civic affairs. The party thought that a proper study should be made to find out why the Congress(I) could increase its control over six additional municipalities in the last municipal elections in the districts.

The State executive decided to launch an agitation in protest against rising prices of essential commodities. The resolution said that it was necessary to start a movement on this issue. Both the Centre and the State Governments should take effective steps against black-marketeering and the Centre should ensure the distribution of 14 essential commodities through the public distribution system.

**Violence in Tripura**

46001719E Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
9 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] Agartala, 8 Jul—At least 10 people, including Mr Santi Ranjan Saha, the block Congress(I) president of Teliamura in East district, were killed and about 50 injured in the large-scale violence which marred the elections to the Tripura tribal areas Autonomous District Council today.

The police said that seven Congress(I) men including four at Teliamura, two at Kalyanpur and one in Chamanu, were killed in "political clashes," while another person died in police firing at Teliarban.

The police fired at a number of places to disperse warring political party supporters. Reports of arson and attacks are still coming in.

The Chief Minister Mr Sudhir Ranjan Mazumdar, told reporters that the car in which the Minister of State for PWD [Public Works Department], Mr Surajit Dutta, was travelling along the Assam-Agartala National Highway was attacked by armed supporters of the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India (Marxist)] near Ambassa of North district. Bombs were hurled at the car. The Minister escaped unhurt, he said.

Mr Mazumdar alleged that the CPI(M) had meticulously planned "large-scale attacks on Congress(I) supporters and let loose a reign of terror to destabilize the Government.

The CPI(M) sources, however, alleged that a series of clashes ensued "when Left Front supporters came forward to frustrate Congress(I) attempts to rig the poll." The party claimed that two among those killed were CPI(M) supporters. They alleged that armed Congress(I) hooligans led by several Ministers and ruling party leaders captured a large number of booths immediately after voting had started in the hill areas in the North and South Tripura districts.

PTI adds: Attempts were made to set fire to a number of polling booths but the police intervened. Clashes between the Congress(I) and CPI(M) workers were reported from all the sub-divisions, resulting in injury to several persons.

At Jiranaia, the security escorts of the Congress(I) MLA [Member of Legislative Assembly], Mr Dipak Nag, opened fire when the latter was attacked by rival party workers with bows and arrows, the police said.

The State Election Commissioner, Mr Shyamal Ghosh, said that he had received reports of clashes between rival party workers from the Teliamura, Jiranaia and Sonamura areas.

However, the observers sent to oversee the election process had not sent any report about these incidents so far. Reports of some party workers threatening voters

with bows and arrows, had come to the notice of the election commission, Mr Ghosh said.

### Intelligence Workings Scored, Investigation Planned

#### Parliamentary Panel

46001726A Madras *THE HINDU in English*  
20 Jun 90 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 19 Jun—For the first time, a parliamentary committee would study the functioning of the intelligence agencies of the country—the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) and the Intelligence Bureau (IB).

Announcing this here today, Mr Jaswant Singh, chairman of the Estimates Committee of Parliament, said that while doing so the Committee would not resort to sensationalism; or as he put it “not exhume yesterday’s bodies.” It would not be an ‘inquisition’ but an effort to find ways to ‘revitalise’ the country’s “intelligence apparatus in its totality.” “We are not interested in exhuming bodies which have been buried or in a post-mortem and our endeavour would be to rise above specific cases or individuals.”

Right to know: Mr Singh justified such a study saying that the manner in which the intelligence establishment had functioned in recent years had given rise to doubts in the public mind. The nation had a right to know what intelligence agencies were doing or not doing. It struck him as a little surprising that Parliament exercised no control over the functioning of the intelligence set-up. To that extent, the Estimates Committee was breaking a “new ground,” he said.

Mr Singh, who is a BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] member of the Lok Sabha, was closely questioned about the nature of the proposed study with reporters wanting to know how the Committee would be able to analyse the state of the body without ‘exhuming’ it. He was clearly cautious about giving away too much, and when a questioner persisted he said: “You are now trying [to] pre-empt the committee.”

To study CBDT: Other areas of study identified by the Committee include the functioning of the Central Board of Direct Taxes [CBDT], the Central Board of Customs and Excise, and the Navodaya Vidyalayas. It would also examine certain aspects of the Defence Ministry—the force level, manpower management, and land use policy. These issues had never been examined before, he said. Also on the agenda was a look at certain developments in the field of atomic energy with reference to radiation hazards, and disposal of nuclear wastes.

Mr Singh emphasised that citizens would be the focus of the committee’s work. The review would cover 23 subjects having a bearing on the lives of the people. “It will be the endeavour of the Committee to suggest to the

Government an alternative policy plank which while subserving the interests of the state benefits the citizens as well,” he said.

#### Difficulties

PTI, UNI report:

Asked if he envisaged any difficulties in the working of the committee as it undertook sensitive subjects, Mr Jaswant Singh said “We are breaking new grounds and are not unmindful of the difficulties that we may have to face.” The Committee could be only so effective as the Government was responsive, he said. The Committee had moral authority and it was for the Government to recognise it, he added.

The reason for the change of accent of the committee was precisely because such subjects had never been examined before, he said and pointed out that the Public Accounts Committee and the Public Undertakings Committee had certain constraints. It was the Estimates Committee which alone could suggest alternative policy and difference of accent on policy, Mr Singh said.

Focus on citizens’ grievances: “All democracies, some time or the other, feel the need to look into closely held aspects of Government,” he said. The whole focus of the working of the committee would be on the grievances of the citizen and on the application of the Government policy on the citizen, he said. The committee would not go into specific cases nor ask for names of intelligence operatives.

Mr Jaswant Singh said the kind of intelligence inputs that were being provided would be examined, adding that some of these had created “difficulties” for the country in recent years. Asked if RAW’s alleged involvement in internal politics would also be gone into, he said “the purpose is not digging up bodies.”

Mr Jaswant Singh said so far 47 percent of the recommendations of the Estimates Committee had been accepted by the Government. The effort would be to raise the acceptance level to 90 percent.

Among the other subjects the committee would examine are: newsprint policy, policy for Government advertisements, Central Board for Film Certification, Film and Television Institute of India, safety and security in railways and railway lands and land use policy.

#### Book Reveals Shortcomings

46001726B Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA in English* 22 Jun 90 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, 21 Jun (PTI)—Indian intelligence reports before and during the IPKF [Indian Peace-keeping Force] operations in Sri Lanka were often inaccurate and inadequate, a new book alleged.

The Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) was “orchestrating the training” of most Tamil militants in India, its



supervision and management of the guerillas was lax, suggests Rajesh Kadian in his book, "India's Sri Lanka Fiasco."

Not all the recruits accepted for training were photographed and files were kept on even fewer, he alleged. "Thanks to Indian audit requirements, an exact tally of weapons and ammunition supplied was kept. But when the guerillas came back claiming loss of weapons in battle this was accepted on face value and replacements were provided." Thus the militants were able to stockpile guns, explosives and bullets. After the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] decimated the TELO [Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization] in May-June 1986, RAW made little effort to retrieve their stockpile of weapons, Mr Kadian says.

The responsibility of military training of the Tamil militants was entrusted to RAW, he says, but one official of the agency was passing on vital information to Sri Lanka.

Indian counter-intelligence was likewise negligible. He says a senior Sri Lankan civil servant talked of this official's driver telling him (the civil servant) that his boss "worked for the Sinhala government a year before the RAW agent was exposed as a CIA [Central Intelligence Agency] spy."

After his exposure no realistic evaluation of the capabilities and resources of the various groups was carried out. No examination of the inter-group rivalries was undertaken, especially with a view to determining what role the agent might have played in promoting the fratricidal wars like the one that destroyed TELO.

There were few agents inside Sri Lanka. Some plainclothed policemen from the CRPF [Central Reserve Police Force] were sent to the major towns in Tamil-dominated areas like Jaffna, Batticaloa and Trincomalee.

But their presence was known to all the militant groups and in fact their existence was in the hands of the guerillas as these agents required protection, housing, utilities and food which were arranged through the locally dominant guerilla group.

These agents, he says, made little effort to collect independent and reliable information. Instead they would often ask Indian journalists about any secret information obtained by them.

In any case, he adds, being policemen they could not evaluate the military potential of the military groups, least of all the largest, the better trained and highly-motivated group, the LTTE.

The book suggests that India's tactical and strategic intelligence and plain espionage reports were not adequate. RAW's information would have the age, name and address of some of the militants, the peacetime location of their units, headquarters and arms caches, Mr

Kadian says. But they had no information about the quantity and quality of weapons and explosives acquired from elsewhere.

The quality of training given to the Tamil militants in India was high and consisted of fieldcraft, tactics, map reading, jungle and guerilla warfare. They were taught to handle sophisticated weapon systems.

In general the militants excelled in fieldcraft, marksmanship, the use of explosives and the handling of telecommunications equipment—as the Indian Army was to discover later.

Such was the situation when the Indo-Sri Lankan peace accord was signed in late July 1987.

### Shortcomings in Defense Production Noted

90AS0328A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English [no date given] p 14

[Article by Pratap Narain: "Defense Production Needs Revamping"; the author, a retired major general, was associated with defence production]

[Text] In 1945, India was one of the very few Third World countries with a viable defence production base. Since then we have more than doubled the number of our ordnance factories, added eight large public sector units and employed 30,000 scientists and 300,000 workers in production units. Despite all this India has the dubious distinction of being the second largest importer of major weapons in the Third World.

With imports of over \$14 billion in the years 1984 to 1988, we were second only to Iraq. While Iraq was fighting a war with Iran, we were spending recklessly in trying to get ahead of Pakistan. The \$1,300 million purchase of Bofors guns is a case in point. While we were debating and testing various types of 155 mm Howitzers over several years, Pakistan ordered 88 155mm guns in 1985 at a cost of \$78 million. Of them, 66 were delivered in 1986-88. With 85 medium guns previously received, Pakistan got a big fire power advantage. We panicked and ordered 410 of the Bofors guns complete with vehicles, ammunition and other ancillaries.

### Main Battle Tank

There was no threat from the Pakistan navy, but we indulged in a spree to add an aircraft carrier and 36 Sea Harrier jump jets to protect it, plus special helicopters and missiles at a cost approaching Rs2,500 crores. Some of our recent purchases were haphazard as evident from the CAG [Comptroller and Auditor General]'s finding that our 40 Mirages bought in 1982 flew unarmed for years.

There are two projects—the production of a main battle tank (MBT) and a light combat aircraft (LCA)—in which we are trying to match the state of the art equipment in these categories by purchase of technology or by undertaking expensive experiments. However, we must not



forget that in the weapons effectiveness equation, the marginal gains in efficiency are more than offset by lack of numbers. In trying to acquire the state of the art, we are delaying their production. This could lead to expensive imports to the grave detriment of the economy.

#### Jet Trainer

The air force is in urgent need of replacing its aging Kiran jet trainer. Some of the many accidents may be due to this deficiency. The import bill on this account could be as high as \$1,200 million (over Rs2,000 crores) matching the outlay on Bofors.

We started production of our first tank—the Vijayanta—in 1961 in collaboration with Vickers of the U.K. Progress was slow at the factory far away from sources of steel and sub-assemblies. When the first lot of tanks was due to roll out before the 1965 operations, experts from Vickers regretted their inability to align the sight with the gun. Luckily, supervisor Pyara Singh did the job but we had to import a number of tanks.

Work on the development of the main battle tank "Arjun" has featured regularly in the press and has been the subject of many questions in Parliament. The latest reports are most disturbing. The Chief of the Army Staff was evidently very upset after witnessing a demonstration of the tank's gun. Only three of the five rounds hit a 5m square target at a 1,100-metre range and no hit was scored on a moving target, comparing with the design requirement calling for hits at a 60 cm square target at a distance of 2,000 metres. Another major shortcoming is that the Arjun is too heavy at 60 tonnes, and its hydro-pneumatic suspension requires excessive maintenance. The rubber seals cannot withstand the high temperatures. This is the sad state of affairs after 16 years of development and over Rs300 crores of expenditure on development.

#### Lack of Decision

The date of production of this tank has been sliding since 1978; it was first called MBT 80 and was to be available in the early 1980s. As the Arjun was not coming up, the government decided to import 300 T-72 tanks from the Soviet Union. A licence production agreement was concluded in 1980. Production has been woefully slow because of a lack of decision. It started in 1987 with an initial 10 per cent indigenous content. Three competing gun systems are now being considered. One is the gun fitted to the Arjun prototype tank. The second is a 120 mm smooth barrel gun developed by Rhienmettal for West Germany's Leopard II tank which we are trying to copy. The third is the Soviet 125 mm smooth barrel gun as fitted to the T-72 MBTs of the Warsaw Pact countries.

No country, certainly not India, can afford to keep on developing two competing tanks as the MBTs of the future. It is about time that the army made up its mind whether it wants the Arjun or the Soviet T-72. We also have to make up our minds on the choice of the gun.

Pakistan is more pragmatic. It is working on improvement to the Chinese T-69 tanks, five samples of which have been sent to Western firms for suggesting modifications and improvements.

#### Target Date

The light combat aircraft now in view, the critics say, is not going to be light; it certainly will not be cheap. Dr Hari Narayana, a scientist, promised in 1978 production in two years. Now the target date is 1995, but one cannot be sure whether the schedule will be met. The LCA [Light Combat Aircraft] is to be powered by an engine to be manufactured to the design of a defence establishment which has been unable to come up with anything suitable for over 30 years. This explains an agreement made with the U.S. for assistance. As of now, the engine may be supplied by the U.S., the avionics by France, radar by Sweden and so on. As a writer in a Pakistani journal says, the only thing Indian in it will be the coconut with which it will be launched.

The present position where the development of the LCA and the MBT is the responsibility of the Defence Research and Development Organisation [DRDO] is incorrect. The development of the main weapons required by the army and air force must rest squarely with the services. The navy has been lucky because the controller of warships production and acquisition is a part of the naval headquarters. Thanks to this control, there has been a steady increment to the fleet. DRDO should revert to its charter of achieving self-reliance in critical defence technologies, with particular emphasis on ab initio development of major weapon systems.

#### Developments in Ahodya Temple Issue Reported

##### Planners Willing To Talk

90AS0327A *Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English*  
28 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, June 27—The Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] today said it was willing to resume talks with the Government to resolve the Ram Janambhoomi issue as a goodwill gesture but reiterated that the date, plan and site of construction of the proposed temple were not negotiable, reports PTI.

Participants at a two-day meeting of the governing council of the VHP, which concluded here today, expressed regret at the "slow efforts" made by the Prime Minister to resolve the Ram Janambhoomi issue in the four-month time he had sought.

The meeting, which reviewed the proceedings of the two-day sant sammelan which concluded on June 24 at Haridwar, expressed satisfaction over the support gained by the VHP on the Ayodhya issue.

The VHP also urged the Government to provide adequate protection for pilgrims going to Amarnath shrine in Kashmir in view of the prevailing law and order situation.

Our Special Representative in Calcutta adds: The Shankaracharya of Sharda and Jyotish "peeths" will undertake another journey to lay the foundation of the Ram temple at the controversial site in Ayodhya after the Makar Sankranti day on January 14 next year. The exact date for the journey will be chosen by the priests and pundits of Varanasi.

Addressing a Press conference in Calcutta on Wednesday, the Sankaracharya, who had been arrested by the U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] Government recently for trying to lead his followers to Ayodhya, said that he would make a series of attempts to lay the foundation of the temple if the State Government tried to stop him again.

He came down heavily on both the V.P. Singh Government at the Centre and the Mulayam Singh Yadav Government in U.P. for his arrest. No Government had ever taken into custody any Sankaracharya for fear of hurting the sentiments of the Hindus. He described Mr Yadav as "fascist" and the Centre as "undemocratic." But, in the same breath, he lashed out at the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and the Communists who, according to him, had supported Mr V.P. Singh and Mr Yadav over his arrest.

The Sanakracharya, who announced the formation of the Ram Janambhoomi Punaruddhar Samity, complained that the Vishwa Hindu Parishad did not want to build the Ram temple. "that is why they are delaying the entire process. They are playing politics." He also alleged that the VHP had threatened to set the Bajrang Dal activists on him if he continued to criticize it.

In his opinion, the scope for a compromise between the Hindus and the Muslims over the issue has been limited by the Centre's as well as the U.P. Government's tendency to appease the latter community. Asked if he would abide by a court decision, he remarked: "We will not accept the court verdict. We will make the court accept the people's verdict."

### CPI Statement

90AS0327B New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
26 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] The Communist Party of India (CPI) has called for mobilisation of secular, democratic and patriotic forces for a country-wide campaign in defence of communal harmony and against all divisive ideologies.

The CPI's call has come in wake of the latest decision of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) to start construction of temple at Ayodhya from October 30.

The CPI, in a statement on Monday, said that the VHP's decision has caused apprehension in the minds of the

people who were hoping that the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) leadership would prevail upon the VHP high-command to practise restraint and not to precipitate the crisis.

"Now it seems that the VHP has turned its back on any notion of conciliation and compromise with the government and the Babri Masjid Action Committee. The VHP, the CPI statement says, has repeated its uncompromising advance rejection of the High Court's decision regarding the dispute site and the land title.

The Muslim communalists like the Indian Union Muslim League, the CPI feels, would further harden their stand against all talk of "shifting" or "restructuring" the Babri Masjid.

The CPI reiterated its stand for either a mutually agreed solution between the two sides or, failing that, for compliance with the awaited court decision. Any unilateral course of action or show of force can only lead to a resurgence of communal passions and violent rioting causing loss of life and property.

In wake of such developments, the CPI feels, that the broad-based convention against communalism to be held in Lucknow on July 15 acquires great significance.

The CPI also expressed the hope that the Central Government would take 'further positive' initiatives to find out a solution before it was too late.

### CPI Leader's Statement

90AS0327C Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 3 Jul 90 p 9

[Text] Lucknow, July 2—The CPI [Communist Party of India] will oppose every move of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] to demolish the existing structure of the disputed shrine in Ayodhya.

Announcing this here yesterday, the party secretary-general, Mr Indrajeet Gupta, MP [Member of Parliament], said the CPI was not against the construction of a mosque or a temple, but it would not allow demolition of any portion of the structure at the Babri Masjid-Ramjanambhoomi site.

Describing the issue as a very serious matter which would determine the destiny of the country, Mr Gupta pointed out that the VHP's announcement about starting the construction of the proposed Ram temple at the disputed site had proved beyond doubt that the government had failed to work out a solution through talks.

The fact that a court verdict was also unacceptable to both parties also indicated the threat this issue was posing to India's unity and integrity.

It was in this light that the CPI had resolved to launch country-wide movement against the parishad's plan.

Mr Gupta said as a first step, the CPI had decided to stage demonstrations and organise rallies at not only

Ayodhya but also at Varanasi and Mathura, which were the next targets of the VHP.

While the first rally was proposed to be held in Mathura on September 7 to mobilise public opinion against the VHP's move to start its movement for "Krishna Hanambhoomi," it would be followed by a similar exercise on September 11 in Varanasi where the Hindu communalists were threatening to demand rights over that part of the Vishwanath temple that had for centuries been used as a mosque.

A rally would be held in Faizabad on September 19, when thousands of CPI volunteers would converge from different corners of the country to participate in a protest demonstration against the parishad's plan for Ayodhya.

Another rally was proposed to be held in Lucknow on October 10, when the CPI would reiterate its stand on the raging issue. The aim of these demonstrations and rallies was, apart from mobilising public opinion, to also make the government realise that it was high time some concrete steps were taken to resolve the dispute.

The CPI leader said efforts should be made to convince both parties to abide by the court verdict. All political parties except the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] were in favour of a judicial solution to the dispute.

Mr Gupta remarked, "Hindu rastra could never become a reality in a country like ours, that was full of diversities," foreign powers were bound to take undue advantage of in such a situation, he added.

Mr Gupta pointed out that while his party was a supporter of the National Front government, it was not blind to the government's lapses and failures. He agreed that the loan waiver scheme, as announced by the U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] government, was not in true spirit of the National Front's election manifesto.

The riders imposed by the Mulayam Singh Yadav government to determine a beneficiary would deprive a large number of genuine cases from deriving any benefit out of the much-proclaimed scheme.

The CPI leader also criticised the governments at the Centre and in U.P., for failing to check the sharp escalation in prices of all essential commodities. Both the Central and railway budgets had failed to provide the desired benefits to the common man, whose oppression continued on account of the price rise.

He admitted that recent trends had shown that atrocities on Harijans continued unabated. "Mere installation of Dr Ambedkar's statue in Parliament was not going to help the cause of the oppressed Harijans and the down-trodden," Mr Gupta said.

### CPI-M Stand

90AS0327D New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
25 Jun 90 p 3

[Text] The Communist Party of India (Marxist) [CPI-M] on Sunday called upon all secular forces in the country to denounce what it called "the studied attempt at resurgence of communal holocaust" in light of Vishwa Hindu Parishad's (VHP) decision to go-ahead with construction of the Ram Temple at Ayodhya on October 30.

The party also came down heavily on the statement made at the two day Indian Union Muslim League's convention for 'supplying highly combustible material to the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue.'

The CPI-M politburo in a statement took note of the VHP warning that whatever be the verdict in the case pending before the special bench of the Allahabad High Court, it will go for the temple construction. The politburo said "this is nothing short of a voice of extreme obscurantist obduracy."

The party feel that "this communal outfit neither cares for the democratic policy of the country nor for a judicial settlement of the dispute."

"Such ill conceived actions will do more harm to the minority community itself," it opined.

The CPI-M politburo warned that "it seems communalists of both sides have started feeding each other which may turn the country in for another uncontrollable communal conflagration."

The politburo while appealing to all secular and patriotic forces to come out openly against the communal holocaust said "it is a special duty and obligation of the Left and secular forces to mobilize all the democratic and secular forces in a crusade against potential vicious communal flare up.

It has urged the Central Government and Uttar Pradesh Government to stand firm on their commitment of maintaining law and order and communal harmony. It also asked the Government to ensure that "all concerned are obliged to wait for the court verdict and once it is pronounced to stand by it."

The politburo statement said "silence on the part of the Government if any attempt is made to openly flout the court judgment will spell disaster not only to the integrity of the country but also severe erosion of the authority of the judiciary."

While condemning all attempts by the communalists the CPI-M politburo vowed to fight with all its strength to ensure the unity and integrity of the country and to uphold the sanctity of the judicial pronouncements.

It has at the same time called upon all secular and patriotic forces to stand up, denounce the open movements of the communalists and rally round the banner of secularism, patriotism and democracy.

### Muslim's Position

90AS0327E Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English  
26 Jun 90 pp 1, 9

[Excerpts] New Delhi, June 25—While the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] and the CPI [Communist Party of India] today said that the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP]'s latest decision to begin the temple construction at Ayodhya from October 30 had caused apprehensions among all secular forces, the Indian Union Muslim League [IUML] reacted by announcing the formation of a seven-member committee to protect the Babari Masjid. [passage omitted]

The IUML said today that the VHP had "closed the doors for talks" on the Babari Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi issue by fixing a date—October 30—to rebuild the temple.

It has asked the Government to ban any campaign to interfere with the mosque and take "stern action against disruptive forces."

Mr G.M. Banatwala, general secretary of the Muslim League, told a Press conference that the VHP action "poses a great threat to communal harmony and law and order."

The League deplored the Centre's silence on the issue even though the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh had said that no interference with the mosque would be tolerated.

Mr Banatwala said some other mosques, such as the Idgah at Mathura and the mosque at Varanasi were under threat.

Asked about the League's counter-action, he said: "We will discuss the question with other secular parties. But the details of the action plan have to be worked out."

The seven-member committee will meet soon to discuss the plan, he added.

A resolution adopted at a national convention attended by 1,400 delegates from 14 States and Union Territories "strongly condemned the fixing of a date by the extremist forces for the commencement of the construction of the Ram temple, irrespective of the fact that the dispute is pending before the judiciary. The fixing of a date forecloses any possibility of talks on the dispute and poses a great threat to law and order and communal harmony in the country.

"The IUML urges the Government to meet the threat with stern action against the said disruptive forces. The convention also called upon the Government to impose an immediate ban on any campaign to interfere with the masjid and its site while the dispute is before the court.

"The convention directs the national executive of the Indian Muslim League to review the entire situation,

particularly in the context of the threat to the safety of the masjid and to decide upon the appropriate course of action.

"The convention appreciates the just and fair statement made by the Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav, to the effect that no interference with the Babari Masjid would be tolerated until a judicial verdict, but deeply regrets to note the total lack of the necessary demonstration of any such firmness by the Centre.

"As the controversy has escalated and now involves several mosques, the convention once again urges the Government that the only just solution now available is the enactment of legislation to protect the status of every place of religious significance as it existed on the day of independence."

The seven-member committee consists of Mr Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait, Mr Banatwala, Syed Mohammed Ali Shihab Tangal, president of the Kerala State unit, Mr Mohammed Suleman, the Uttar Pradesh president, Mr Ahmed Baksh, the Rajasthan unit president, Mr Qamarul Islam, MLA [Member of Legislative Assembly], and Karnataka unit general secretary, and Mr A.K. Bassan uz-Zaman, president of the West Bengal unit.

The convention approved the working paper presented by Mr Banatwala. The resolutions were on the lines indicated in the paper.

The League expressed dismay over the communal disturbances, especially in Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and elsewhere despite a change in Government at the Centre and in those States.

It said the "political weakness" of the National Front Government had seriously impaired its capability to meet the communal orgy with firmness and impartiality. Hardly any step had been taken to deal effectively with communal disturbances and give the country peace and communal harmony.

The Muslim League today criticized the Government's declaration that, as a matter of policy, it would undertake an exercise on the amendment of the personal laws on the initiative of the minority communities. "This has dangerous potential and a capability of creating tension and controversies, especially in respect of the Muslim personal law."

In a resolution adopted at a national convention, it said: "The mutability of Islamic injunctions based on the holy Koran and Sunnah is beyond question.

It expressed concern and indignation and deplored that the Government deemed it fit in a "highly callous attitude" to declare in Parliament that, in response to the recommendations from "certain persons and associations," efforts were being made to ascertain the consensus of the communities on amendments to personal laws.

"No abrogation of amendment to, or interference with, the immutable Islamic injunctions will be tolerated." It demanded that Article 44 of the Constitution, regarding a uniform civil code, be deleted or Muslims exempted. It said Article 25 should be amended to guarantee more explicitly the freedom to follow one's own personal law. It said the Muslim Personal Law Application Act, 1937, should be amended to provide categorically for the superiority of the rules of the Shariat over the provisions of any contrary law in force in the case of Muslims.

ANIL RANA adds from Haridwar: While October 30 has been specified as the date for the beginning of the construction of the Ram temple at the disputed site, no date has been fixed for the demolition, shifting and reconstruction of the existing Babari Masjid. In fact, there is a contradiction in the statements made by Mahant Avaidyanath, M.P. and president of the Ram Hanambhoomi Mukti Yajna Samiti, and Mr Ashok Singhal, secretary-general of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, when they were asked when the demolition of the existing structure would begin.

The Mahant said the place was of no religious significance to the Muslims as no ibadat was done there. He said the place was a memorial to Babar and, if some of his admirers wanted, the memorial could be shifted to Shanava village. The Shila community leaders had not objected to the shifting of the structure to a different place, he said. Since the site was the birthplace of Rama, the temple has to be built there come what may, he added.

Mr Singhal, however, maintained that there was no question of demolition, only that of reconstruction of the Ram temple already existing there. "Can a temple ever be demolished?" he asked. Mr Singhal explained that for all practical purposes the place was a temple and the plinth on which the structure stood belongs to the 11th Century when it had been a Ram temple. He said that if, however, the Muslims wanted the superstructure, it could be given to them. During reconstruction, several walls of the existing structure might be removed, remodelled or redesigned, depending upon the requirement of the new plan.

On the volunteer force being recruited for non-technical work, Mr Singhal said, about 500,000 youths were being readied for the purpose. Shiv Sena workers and those of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh had already pledged to work for the "nirman" of the Ram temple. He said if reconstruction of the temple went on as planned, the workers could do kar seva for four hours at a stretch and this would go on round the clock. If the work was hampered, 5,000 volunteers would court arrest daily at the site.

He announced that the plans for the construction of the temple would not be altered under any circumstances save that of war with a neighbouring country.

The detailed plans announced at a Press conference yesterday state that, on August 1, the religious leaders

would take an oath to complete the project at Vrindavan. In August, the kar seva volunteer force will be selected and prayer services and assemblies will be organized in the first fortnight of September in different parts of the country in praise of Lord Rama. From September 29, vijay yatras will begin from about 100 different places in the country, led by religious leaders, and will reach Ayodhya on October 30.

### Television Management Criticized for Bad Programs

90AS0189A New Delhi DINMAN TIMES in Hindi  
24-30 Jun 90 p 5

[Commentary by Manohar Shyam Joshi entitled: "Door-darshan, What Is Your Vision?"]

[Text] Along with the inauguration of television in India, it used to be said that the government was not unaware of the dangers of commercial television. The government, therefore, will utilize this powerful media to bring about a new consciousness in the society and to educate the poor and the illiterate. But under the SITE [Satellite Instruction Television Experiment] program in 1975-76, for the first time, the government started broadcasting advertisements along with experimenting with education in about one and a half thousand villages in India. In this way, it demonstrated that its so-called good intentions were to put its feet in two boats and let both of them capsize.

Under the SITE program, the office holding "experts" enjoyed "committeeism" and tried to prove by all means that as long as they were there in the first place no programs would be implemented at all. However, if one was implemented anyway, it would never be such as anybody would like it. With one of these types of committees, I also got entangled in the capacity of a script writer. These experts selected as an appropriate topic teaching the children of Indian villages how to cleanse their teeth. The responsibility of preparing a program for this was given to an Egyptian telecaster from UNESCO. The esteemed telecaster completed his eight months of assignment in India and returned. The experts committee could not agree on the script. Moreover, nobody was prepared to listen to the fact that in Indian villages children neither eat candies nor brush their teeth. Later on, some interesting experiments were conducted in Gujarat under the SITE program to identify the problems of the villages and to prepare some entertaining programs based on them as well as to evaluate their impact. But the experiments are just a footnote in the history of broadcasting. The television division never requisitioned the services of that team again.

At the time when India was planning to put its own satellite into orbit and to set up a television network all over the country, the government officials on one hand were talking about Mexican technology, that is bringing about social reforms through television, and on the other had they were beginning to implement their own

projects. The irony was that despite sending its officers to Mexico to learn Mexican technology and also inviting Mexican experts to India, the government of India could not do anything in this regard for years to come. Ultimately, even when a soap opera entitled "Hum Log" was produced on the Mexican model, it was done as a project work. If it is now remembered for anything it is for popularizing "magi noodles". It is sure that in the views of our experts there was no significance to a program such as "Hum Log". They did not work further on this type of program nor did they care to know how much and what good or bad impact "Hum log" had on the society, while experts even from America researched this topic. Well, let us put off this pleasant-unpleasant story of "Hum log" for a while. For the present, it is sufficient to say that while I might not have the pleasure of visiting Mexico to learn Mexican technology, as a writer of "Hum Log" I did study a little about it. I wonder why the television division does not produce entertaining programs by adopting this technology?

The Mexican technology assumes that education is to be imparted through entertaining programs only. If soaps can sell through soap opera serials, why can't a message of social reform sell? According to Mexican technology, it is an example of extreme commercialism to insist that educational programs should be dull and entertaining programs should be uneducational.

Even in a commercialized country such as America some social institutions have exerted their influence on the producers of soap operas to mold their plots in such a manner as to get their message conveyed to the people. For example, a pro-abortion group made Norman Lear depict in one of the episodes of his favorite soap opera that the heroine was undergoing an abortion rather than waiting to give birth to an unwanted child.

The Mexican technology received an inspiration from a program that was prepared from a commercial point of view, but unwittingly a few important messages also got conveyed. It so happened that the Singer company wanted to sell its sewing machines in Peru. It got a soap opera written for this purpose that was broadcast in 1969. In this soap opera entitled "Simplemente Maria", an innocent poor rustic girl comes to a town in search of a livelihood and faces discrimination and exploitation. In her attempt to stand on her own feet, the sewing machine proves very helpful. After a while, the simple Mary herself gets rich and marries a boy from a high urban family. However, she does not forget her brothers and sisters still living in the village. She keeps them inspiring for self-reliance, cooperativeness, and women's liberation.

Inspired by the success of "Simplemente Maria", Miguel Sabido, a Mexican stage director who had been doing folk plays, embarked on using soap operas as a means of social reform. During the period from 1975 to 1981, one after another he prepared six soap operas with social messages for Mexican television. Topics included education, family planning, and child welfare, etc. Sabido

not only utilized the soap opera format to convey messages, but he also developed a whole methodology for the purpose that came to be known as Mexican technology. According to this technology, religious leaders and scholars are invited together to get involved in deciding which values of Mexican life are to be encouraged and which are to be criticized. Once the guiding principles are decided, the writer creates characters which are familiar to the people and which represent different walks of life. These characters are put in the circumstances of a common man's life. Thereafter, by producing a conflict among them, attention is drawn to the problem with an intended message. In this conflict, the side of the character who represents the right aspect is proven to be stronger. Not only this, as in American commercial programs messages on behalf of their sponsors are conveyed every six minutes and also at the end. Similarly, under Mexican technology, intermittently within the episode as well as in the end the intended messages are highlighted with the help of some well-known public figures. Again, in the end these public figures provide addresses and telephone numbers to the viewers to send their questions, problems, suggestions, or complaints.

Mexican technology became very successful. To illustrate this, 63 percent more people enrolled in adult education centers after viewing soap operas on adult education than before. Because of the soap opera on family planning, despite the society being Catholic, more than 32 percent of the people accepted family planning. From the analysis made by the University of Southern California's research scholars of letters received by Ashok Kumar, it becomes obvious that "Hum Log" had a deep impact on Indian minds. The question arises that, in spite of all this why didn't Indian television try to produce entertaining educational programs? The answer is, in order to produce such programs, first of all one has to ascertain what message is to be conveyed? The poor officers of Indian television spend all their time sorting out what they are not supposed to convey; how many people are there who should not be hurt; opposition from which side has to be avoided at any cost. When they receive directives from above in regard to what message is to be conveyed, it is done with so much enthusiasm and so many times that the audience gets sick of it. On previous occasions, it was noted to have happened in context of the Hindu-Sikh unity.

When directions come from above to convey any message, no need is felt to decide any strategy or technology nor any need to study its impact. They do not take time from attending committee meetings and seminars. In such a situation, if any technology works it is the same as that used by a blind person to distribute candies.

In the absence of any philosophy, just to fulfill a formality, television is making educational programs very dull. In spite of the fact that these programs are being run because of commercials, it still keeps assuring the people that they are not commercial and also that it will never get involved with the criteria of popularity nor will it

allow its lively programs to be limited just to entertainment. In this manner, television is giving you a double dose of disgust while for itself it is benefitting both ways.

### Commentary on 'Anarchy' in Politics

90AS0151B Delhi DINMAN TIMES in Hindi  
10-16 Jun 90 p 5

[Commentary by Ajit Bhattacharya: "The Wounded Face of Anarchist Politics"]

[Text] The last few days have been full of serious events in political circles. It appeared that Haryana would prove to be a challenge for democracy. In just three months, this region close to Delhi became a trouble spot for the national front government. Recently a treatment was given. No bad side effects have so far been noticed. But, like the second act of Greek tragedies, some serious events have taken place in Kashmir. These events have automatically provided an opportunity for public opinion, which was so far building up against terrorism, to be diverted towards alienating the states from the Center.

Within this period, the scenes of anarchy that were witnessed in the lower house of parliament have shaken the faith in the lower houses ability to solve the national problems and safeguard the national interests. One day I kept sitting in the lower house continuously for three hours with the hope that something significant might be there to hear. However, at the most, I could hear something of use just for 15 minutes. On the other hand, in the upper house (which is considered to be a body of senior and wise persons) the vice-president, Shankar Dayal Sharma, who is also chairman of the house, became so helpless over the continuous pandemonium created by the Congress(I) members that he broke into tears. He was forced to beg them to rather shoot or strangle him than to struggle democracy. But it had no effect on the members.

Unfortunately, in Kashmir, Jagmohan did a greater harm to the nation as well as the national front government than did Om Prakash Chautala, the chief minister of Haryana, who was sacked later. The recent victim of the Greek tragedy was Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammed Farooq, who was a respected religious leader as well as a highly esteemed political leader. Mirwaiz, at his home, did not treat others like a typical orthodox religious leader, nor did he gather around him persons having blind religious faith. He was always prepared to discuss political issues in reasonable and secular terms.

When I had visited Srinagar, I had met Mirwaiz because I thought he knew the pulse of the people. He was not happy with New Delhi, nor was he happy with Islamabad. He had misgivings about Pakistan's designs. On the other hand, he had complaints against India and thought that it had given Kashmir step-motherly treatment. He was not inclined to give his own opinion. But, from his talks, it could be inferred that he favored Kashmir staying within the Indian union, provided New Delhi

respected Kashmir's autonomy and did not meddle with its elections of political leaders.

In 1982, when Farooq Abdullah succeeded Sheikh Abdullah as chief minister, Mirwaiz was his supporter. Later, when Farooq joined hands with the opposition parties because he wanted Mrs. Indira Gandhi's plans to fail, Mirwaiz opposed him and did not condone him for doing so, although Farooq never wavered on the matter of Kashmir remaining an integral part of India. In 1986, when I saw him for the last time, he was very much displeased with Farooq. It was about that time that Jagmohan had bribed several legislators to defect and had formed a government with their help. The government, however, failed very soon. At that time, Jagmohan had become the governor of Kashmir for the first time and power had gone straight into his hands. Farooq Abdullah changed his attitude entirely because, perhaps, Rajiv Gandhi had made some promises to him. That was why Farooq started praising Rajiv Gandhi profusely. However, for six months neither the promises were kept nor were the elections held for which Farooq was so hopeful.

At this point, Abdullah committed the greatest blunder of his life. He agreed to make the National Conference of Kashmir a partner of Congress(I). Due to this, several workers left the organization. The individual status earned for the National Conference by Sheikh Abdullah was lost. (Farooq at that time had pointed out that he had no option other than agreeing with Rajiv because had he not done so, even if his government had won the elections, he would not have remained in power for a long time because the state would not have received enough funds for developmental projects.) Mirwaiz, that time, had predicted correctly that Farooq's new affiliations with New Delhi would prove to be devastating for the National Conference. This is why Mirwaiz had disassociated himself from its consequences.

In any situation Mirwaiz's assassination would have created a great sensation all over Kashmir. Because of the long-standing differences of Mirwaiz with the Jamait terrorists, it may be believed that it was they who might have been the killers. If the governor had any foresight, he would have shared the grief of the people of Kashmir. This would have demonstrated to the people in what direction the terrorists were leading the state. To the contrary, the Central Reserve Police showered bullets upon the mourning people going with the dead body. Perhaps the terrorists might have instigated them to do so.

Although the situation was not quite clear, still, whatever the governor told us was not at all believable. Dozens of people were killed or injured. All over the state the grief changed into anger. The anger was directed mainly against Jagmohan and against India.

The next day good sense dawned upon the government. Even if for a short while, the paramilitary forces were withdrawn from Srinagar area. (This should have been



done one day earlier.) Thousands of grieving people later participated in the funeral procession peacefully.

In order to evade foreign news agencies so that our diplomats would not need to relate this incidence with the terrorists, the government with self-satisfaction refrained from taking the issue to the UN. For the first time the United States accused India of using force against unarmed agitators. In the statement, it was also suggested that during house searches the military or police personnel should not mistreat the citizens. Also, those people who are arrested but whose guilt is questionable should be treated with sympathy, and New Delhi should not interfere in the distribution of food and medicine. An even more damaging contingency arose during the sessions of the Organization of Islamic Countries, when these countries expressed their solidarity with Pakistan. They condemned the inhuman, oppressive measures taken by Indian officers in suppressing the natural uprising among the people of Kashmir. In this statement, the firing made in Srinagar was especially condemned. An attempt was also made to convert it into a subject of concern for Muslims all over the world. The two weeks journey undertaken by Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto to the Islamic countries was not as futile as claimed by our External Affairs Ministry.

It appears that we will have to wait for a long time for what in the language of journalism is called awaiting good news. The Meham incident took place on 27 February, and Chautala was asked to resign on 22 May. The image of Janata Dal, especially of V.P. Singh, would have become brighter if immediate steps had been taken on the issue of Meham. At least, in the event of the annulment of the elections at Meham and also the presentation of a formal report, an action should have been taken immediately. In this report, the news published in the papers about forced occupation of polling booths as well as the police firing with the connivance of politicians was stated to be correct. After all the intervening period, it is now difficult to understand why Chautala's resignation was not demanded. To some extent, Rajiv Gandhi can claim credit for it because it was only after his tour to Meham that the regime demanded Chautala's resignation.

Recently, another accident occurred. It was decided that fresh by-elections would be held in Meham on 26 May, but, even before it could be held, an independent candidate, Amir Singh, was assassinated. The by-election was cancelled again. There is no proof that Chautala's hand was in this murder. The police tried to arrest Chautala's main opponent, Anand Singh Dangi, but during the attempt some more violence erupted. There is no evidence that at the Janata Dal meetings these incidences were condemned. The new party chief, M.R. Bommai, made a request of Chautala to tender his resignation in the interest of the party and later thanked him for having done so.

In the process of senior leader Banarasi Das' election as the new chief minister, both Devi Lal and Chautala

played an important role. Mr. Gupta had been deputy chief minister in the cabinet of both the father as well as the son. In the meeting of the Janata Dal legislators, a proposal was passed praising Om Prakash Chautala for giving clean and permanent administration to Haryana. It was also hoped that hereafter as a party chief he will successfully lead the state unit of Janata Dal. The Devi Lal 'family', in this manner, is still active in political circles.

Still, it is felt that perhaps this is Mr. Singh's method of resolving a crisis. He waited for Gandhi's visit to Meham. It helped establish Chautala's activities. In this process, any probability that Congress(I) could start supporting Devi Lal and that his 30 or 50 supporting members could decide to embarrass the government was excluded. The prime minister does not want to take any risk in this regard because even today Congress(I) is the biggest opposition party in the lower house, while, on the other hand, it is essential for Janata Dal to seek support from Bharatiya Janata Party and the leftist parties for its continuation in power.

As soon as Rajiv Gandhi went to visit Meham, the state of indecision on the part of the prime minister was over. The delay in asking Chautala to resign is an evidence of this irony. It was Bommai who had to announce the decision. Devi Lal and Chautala had played a significant role in making him temporary chief of the party. It is difficult to say whether Mr. Singh had preplanned it that way, but obviously he has enough reasons to be pleased with its outcome.

### **Commentary Critical of Government's 'Panchayati Raj' Concept**

*90AS0163B Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA  
in Bengali 13 Jun 90 p 4*

[Editorial]

[Text] Before the ninth Lok Sabha was elected, Rajiv Gandhi had arranged to make his "panchayati" government part of the Constitution; the National Front government of Vishwanath Pratap Singh has accepted that as an ideal and is making a new attempt to amend the Constitution. It is an instructive example of continuity in Indian politics and economic philosophy. Those who are on opposite sides on the campaign trail and in Parliament unite when it comes to forming or refurbishing the country's economic-administrative structure. Almost all state chief ministers have voiced support for Prime Minister Viswanath Pratap's initiative. Of course, support of chief ministers and that of Parliament are not the same thing. That probably was the subtle hint given by the West Bengal chief minister. The requisite parliamentary support for Vishwanath Pratap's proposal requires the cooperation of both pro-government and opposition parties. That cooperation can be achieved despite political differences. Earlier, prime ministers succeeded in obtaining opposition backing for their attempts to amend the Constitution. Yet if, in response



to the call for "national unity" in public interest, the Congress president reminds Vishwanath Pratap and his friends of their noncooperation to a government initiative prior to the elections, should he be blamed?

However, the proposals of the two governments are not the same. Although Vishwanath Pratap has accepted the principle of the previous government, he has changed it substantially. Rajiv Gandhi's recipe provided for direct relations between the central government and the district or panchayat administration.

Although that model did not completely ignore the state government, it did not conceal a desire to erode states' powers a concept which disregards the essential principle of the U.S. system of government. In fact, that was the main cause of the previous opposition parties' opposition to that initiative. The National Front amendment almost eliminates the evil of centralization. Vishwanath Pratap wants state governments to play an active part [in] the village and regional administrative systems. The state government will have the main responsibility to determine the shape of the regional administrative structure in that state. In a diverse country such as India, an attempt to run the whole country through central government edicts would make an absurd mess of administration. The National Front has understood that truth. On the other hand, they are justifiably opposed to surrendering all powers to the whims of state governments in the name of decentralization. They want to create a permanent institution to work out the principles and procedures of regional administration, such as state-level election commissions to conduct panchayat elections and state-level economic commissions to determine appropriations for regional administrations. Notably, from now on states will get greater powers to implement Industries Minister Ajit Singh's new industrial policies. This certainly represents faith in the U.S. system.

The logic behind the transfer of central government powers to states applies to the transfer of state government powers to regional administrations. The prime minister followed the principle of decentralization when he announced that the village council will get a position of importance in the Constitution. The prime minister certainly believes that because the village is the primary unit of the economic and social structure, the village council and panchayat should be the primary unit of administration. The more this logic proves practical, the greater its effectiveness. For 40 years national leaders at the center have fostered a tendency to personalize political power leading to a widening of distance between the government and the people. That distance, coupled with bureaucratic shortcomings, has impeded regional development at every step. This has contributed to backwardness and disparity in different regions and fueled separatism. If the Front government wishes to change that tradition, that would be a good thing. But the decentralization argument has some serious limitations. First, before handing over additional responsibilities to village councils or panchayats, it should be ascertained who

controls them. To this day, throughout most of India the old bureaucratic stranglehold is manifest in the village socioeconomic structure. Because of the wide social gaps, the system is dominated by a powerful few. The village council means the court of the village bosses. Only the sycophants get their favors. Even the prime minister has hinted that there is little prospect of any immediate changes in that system, or of the introduction of real land reforms. Naturally, if political power is decentralized without preparing the ground for it, those powers will be confined to village overlords. That is not all. The prime minister alludes to the tradition of West Bengal, Karnataka, and Gujarat, but the experience of those very states proves that at the regional level it is difficult to prepare development plans, have the know-how to implement them, develop the infrastructure, or mobilize the work force. The absence of these requisites would make the village development effort a sheer waste of money. Before eliciting others' opinions, Vishwanath Pratap ought to ask himself whether he is putting the cart before the horse.

#### Article Says 'Learn From Fiji Experience'

90AS0140B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi  
6 Jun 90 p 6

[Editorial entitled: "Learn From Fiji"]

[Text] The employees of our embassy in Fiji have returned from Fiji bag and baggage. They did not have any choice other than that. What other options did our diplomats have after the Fiji government's decision to close down the Indian embassy? One half of Fiji's population, comprising of people of Indian origin, is still continuing its fight against the wicked policies of the Fiji government. The actual target of its agitation is the standing sugarcane crops. Although the Fiji administration has been giving a hollow threat that if the people of Indian origin did not cooperate with it, men from the army will reap the crops, it will not allow the country's only industry, that is sugarcane, to be ruined. This is not as easy to do as it is to say. Yet, it will not be proper to build hopes on the basis of this agitation. Sooner or later, the army officials will find some way out.

An important lesson one can learn from the events of Fiji is that the problems of the people of Indian origin all over the world have to be identified, and a permanent long-term policy should be framed in this regard. At present, the events of Fiji appear to be localized, but they are indicative of more widespread events in the future. All over the world, with the increasing modernization expenses of daily living on one hand and the problem of a growing population on the other, each country is becoming more and more suspicious of the people coming from other countries. The first victims of racial intolerance are those who have no strong political support. The people who have migrated from India may have earned a name by means of their technical or mercantile skills or by means of their hard work, but they have often been unsuccessful in uniting politically. Nor

have they received even nominal help or support from their motherland. This is why the Indians have to face discrimination policies more than even the Chinese.

So far, these kinds of difficulties had been felt in the African or island states of the Pacific. However, in recent years such apprehensions have become evident even in Europe and America. If people of Indian origin are discriminated against, it hurts our national feelings. It is a matter of regret that in our foreign policy there is no room for the 20 million people of Indian origin all over the world. In order to meet future challenges, we must establish an effective department in the ministry of external affairs so that they can look into the problems of Indian origin. Apart from this, several private agencies may be started throughout the country which should engage themselves in looking after the problems on a non-governmental level. Ignorantly it is suggested that those Indians who have left the country have been opportunists and, therefore, should be neglected. It is not proper to think this. We should consider them to be our arms reaching out all over the world.

### **Commentary Views Obstacles to Political Solution for Kashmir**

*90AS0160B Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in English  
14 Jun 90 p 6*

[Editorial]

[Text] In Kashmir, political activity goes on around the clock. You cannot leave any state, not even a small district, indefinitely in the hands of the military. But everyone would like to ask the government, impatient to resume political activity in Kashmir, has the right time come? The government may well reply that unless the political elements are approached and affiliated, how can it be determined whether or not a deal can be worked out. In case success is not forthcoming, one can fall back upon reconsideration and waiting.

Until only a few days ago, three groups were active in the valley: the National Conference, Jamaat-e Islami, and the Muslim United Front. The votes that the Front obtained in the last assembly elections were startling. It also won four seats. Following the elections, the Front's position continued to slide and it shrank to its founder Qazi Nissar's Anantnag district. Jamaat's entire politics is based on anti-Indianism. The ban on its schools, which was recently imposed, has not been lifted so far. This means that the Front's influence is confined to a region, and Jamaat cannot be trusted at all. The National Conference is the biggest party of the state and the most prominent administrative party, and it is through this that political movements reach the villages from the cities.

If by calling Dr. Farooq Abdullah to Kashmir the central government is really looking for a political foothold, its reason is this luster of the National Conference. But there are two problems. Whatever politics Dr. Abdullah has played in Kashmir so far, that has been done by

exploiting the name of his father, Sheikh Abdullah. His own account is empty. In fact, at the time of violent crisis, instead of being a friend of the Kashmiris and standing up in India's favor, Farooq Abdullah chose to go and live in England. Now how can he stand up in Srinagar and ask the people to fight separatism and violence. The second problem is that since the Rajiv-Farooq alliance the National Conference has continuously chosen weakness. Had the National Conference been strong, the violent mobs would not have taken to the streets at all. They could persuade the people because the Conference workers were absent from among the people.

Therefore, there is no easy way for the formation of the government either. The big problem is that the country's former ruling party, Congress, and the present ruling party, Janata Dal, do not have any stature in Kashmir. India's home minister himself cannot muster enough courage to visit Srinagar. In these conditions the center does not have any option, whereas the National Conference option has lost the ability to deliver goods. How will it be fixed?

The Kashmir crisis is unprecedented. Therefore, the only possibility lies in an extraordinary solution. The central government does not appear to be possessed of Kashmir thinking commensurate with the gravity of the Kashmir crisis. Therefore it is forced to bank upon defunct organizations. The central government can only grope for the National Conference because it has nowhere else to look. It is doubtful if Dr. Abdullah will display his former glory and enthusiasm. But the government cannot come up with any other personality. If the talk of breathing new life into the dissolved state assembly is not tantamount to flogging the dead horse of defunct organizations, then what?

If it works out, this attempt will be written in history in golden letters. But history is not written that easily. In Punjab, despite the existence of an established leadership and working parties, the men of violence can shoot down any political initiative. It will indeed be a new experience to see the attempt to start politics with the help of exploded leaders and defunct parties.

### **Commentary Views Political Process in Kashmir, Punjab**

#### **Equal Treatment Said Prerequisite**

*90AS0187A Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi  
27 Jun 90 p 4*

[Article by Rajkishore entitled: "Political Process Does Not Grow on Trees"]

[Text] Talks are on to initiate a political process in Kashmir, whereas it is suggested to hold elections in Punjab by the end of October. Elections also are a part of the political process—rather an essential and special part. But if in the context of Punjab the phase "political

process" is not being repeated, the reason is that Vishwanath Pratap Singh's government has not been able to design a Punjab policy of its own. Earlier perhaps it intended to design one by joining hands with Simranjit Singh, but this could not materialize. On the other hand, the president's rule could not be extended indefinitely. This would have maligned V.P. Singh's government's love for democracy. In such a circumstance, it would have appeared most appropriate to leave Punjab to its own fate by arranging an election there. It means that a political process is going to be initiated in Punjab without the Center having any side of its own. To the contrary, there may not be any ready-made formula for Kashmir. A formula is being searched for frantically. Farooq Abdullah is being recalled from London for this purpose. Possibly the administration of Jammu and Kashmir may be presented to him on a platter, although the circumstances are so much against him that it might not be easy to do so.

In the meantime, going by the Center's approach in both cases, doesn't it look as if political process grows like a fruit on trees that can be plucked any time? It appears to be the thinking that political process is a kind of thing that can be stopped any time and restarted any time, whenever one wants. Reality, however, is totally different. If a society has not become the victim of inertia, political process always goes on. It is a life support to societal relations. The period, which is unfortunately called a period of cessation of political process, is its most tenacious and intense period. Is terrorism something outside of a political process? Of course, it does not fall within the limits of democracy, but it does begin exactly at the point where democratic methods become useless or are weakened due to various reasons. This is precisely what has happened in Punjab. Terrorism flourished there only when Akali politics were defunct. The Akali Dal stopped, but how could the political process stop? It just changed its form of expression. The steps that were taken earlier with encounters and oppression are now being taken with guns and rifles. Is Kashmir's story different from this? Even there, the separatist trend was not strengthened overnight. There is a long political process behind it. When the separatist political parties, working within the framework of democracy, could not become a vehicle of the growing extremism, a new group of terrorists entered the political arena. On the other hand, Farooq Abdullah or other nationalist leaders did not become irrelevant all of a sudden. They had been turning themselves as such for a while. This is the reason why, when the separatists pierced deep into Kashmir, Farooq could not face them as a chief minister or as a leader of a National conference and took to his heels quietly.

In Punjab or in Kashmir—especially in Punjab—the political process has not stopped. There are some other aspects to it. In Punjab, it is quite clear because in that state a counter politics is also running incessantly parallel with terrorism. The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], the CPI [Communist Party of India], the Communist

Party Marxist, and other communist camps have not only remained vocal against it, their courageous leaders have also made ultimate sacrifices. It is true that this vocalism has not been very effective, but at least it has been there. This is strong proof of the fact that the streams of democratic politics have not completely dried up in Punjab. Unfortunately, this has not been possible in Kashmir, although this cannot be said about the whole of Kashmir. Jammu has been vibrating with political activities.

In Kashmir valley, situations would have been different if the nationalist parties there could have demonstrated even a little courage and resolve. After all, there was a united government of the National Conference and the Congress, and both of them were opposed to separatism. But when a moment of real test came along, they were both paralyzed. Again, was the action taken by the Center there during the governor's rule not even a political action? Just as democratic politics turn into armed politics at the citizens' level, similarly, the government may also take to violence if a need arises. Governor Jagmohan bore this responsibility improperly. As a result, he created several critics not only in Kashmir but also outside. The ideal is that, in spite of strictness being applied by the government, a consideration is made that even those against whom it is employed are merely citizens of the country. The separatists definitely want to break the nation, but for those who want to keep the country intact even they are an inseparable part of the nation. And when the issue involves not only a person but a group, every step has to be taken very carefully because even one wrong step can flare up separatism. It is one thing to fight separatism and another to crush the separatists. Fighting separatism is a complete political process, and like any other political process this also has some administrative aspects. The fight cannot be carried in anger. In a fit of anger, citizens can break the state laws, but the administration is not permitted to show anger nor to break the citizens' laws. The so-called strictness on the part of the state is actually a part of constructive politics. It is needless to say that, as in Kashmir, in Punjab also one can hardly find a trace of constructive politics. The biggest event of this type was the Punjab Agreement that was dumped into cold storage by the Center itself after a change in its political motives.

Now, if in any society political process does not cease, then what is the meaning or purpose of restarting it all of a sudden? Perhaps, in Kashmir, it means that either a democratic government is set up there or different political parties initiate their activities again in preparation for it. But the question is, why are these activities not starting by themselves? Why can't Farooq himself restart his political activities in Srinagar? Rajiv Gandhi undertakes a tour of all the other parts of the country, why not of Kashmir? Who has stopped him from doing so? Why can't the new governor, Girish Saxena, convene a meeting of all the political parties? If there was any life in our politics, it did not need to be prompted to convene

a summit meeting in order to start its activities in the form of the current preparations. It would have started by itself with its own vigor. Does it then mean that political processes are limited to forming a government? But when the situations were worsening in Kashmir and Punjab, were there no state governments in power? If we form a government again, what new [events] are going to happen? Obviously, the question is not only one of forming or letting someone form a government. The question is also of what type of government should be there? Will the same political process that has landed us in this explosive situation be repeated again or will there be a better process? What will the content of the process be? What formula will it offer to reduce the flames of separatism?

The same is true for Punjab. Minds have been made up to hold an election there, but do we notice any preparations for the eventuality that this election may lead the circumstances in Punjab to a satisfactory conclusion? An election in itself releases terrific political energy and presents its own political solution. But this applies to normal circumstances. Punjab, on the other hand, has become a knotty problem. Without first resolving it, is it to be assumed that some healthy democratic solution will burst out of the ballot boxes? This however does not mean that elections should be held only when favorable results are expected. In such a case, elections will carry absolutely no meaning. Elections are not held in a vacuum. The question is, what choices do the voters have in Punjab? Where are the political forces to which they can hand over power? Where is the environment in which the right to vote may be exercised with relatively greater freedom? An election is, after all, the culmination of a political process. Where is that political process? Or, shall we just assume that there is no such thing as the Punjab problem?

Decidedly, the future of Punjab and Kashmir depends more on how much healthy and constructive energy is left in local politics. Contributions from the rest of India may also be useful and decisive, but only when its own political process has some vigor in it. Solutions are not possible by applying big or small brains. At present, nationalism has been left with only two meanings for us: (1) we will not allow separatism to succeed using our military force, (2) from time to time, we will continue to express the possibility of a war with Pakistan and declare that if war breaks out Pakistan will have to pay a heavy price for it. But nationalism has some deeper meaning too. Fundamentally, it means national construction, to unite the people of the nation, not only on a cultural level but also on economic and political levels. It also means removing inequality from within the nation and not allowing a feeling to grow in any part or group of the country that injustice is being done to it. Until a solid political process is implemented to this end, no other political process can lead us to any better place.

### BJP Leader Says Time Not Ripe for Political Initiative

90AS0187B Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi  
27 Jun 90 p 4

[Interview with BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) National Deputy Chairman Sunder Singh Bhandari by Vijaya Trivedi; "The Time is Not Right for Political Initiative in Kashmir"; first paragraph is introduction; date and place not specified]

[Text] A long conversation took place with Mr. Bhandari, an outspoken man with sharp manners, on a number of topics including the internal situation of the country, the border states, conditions in Punjab and Kashmir, the functioning of the National Front Government, increasing rifts between BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and Janata Dal, and the controversies over the birthplace of Rama, etc. During the conversation, Mr. Bhandari had some harsh words to say on several issues, along with the controversy over the birthplace of Rama, in regard to not only minority leaders but also to Muslims in general. His statements implied that Pakistan supporting elements have not only fanned anti-Indian sentiments in common Muslims, but they have also provoked them. The "Satisfying the Muslims" Policy of Congress and the National Front Government, as well as their Muslim-fearing behavior, have not only harmed the nation but have also proved to be dangerous. Following are relevant excerpts from the conversation held.

[Trivedi] How do you evaluate the present conditions of the country?

[Bhandari] The conditions have worsened in Kashmir after removing Jagmohan from there. Now, we are receiving news of a rocket launching from Kashmir. Apparently, there is some slackness on the international border. It was because of Jagmohan that at least the presence of the government of India was felt in that state.

[Trivedi] Why is there so much resentment in BJP in regard to Jagmohan?

[Bhandari] We are not supporters of Jagmohan, but we supported his policies. The question is, in the first place, why was the governor sent there? And if he was sent, why was he removed? His removal was an occasion for the Pakistani elements to celebrate. No explanation has yet been given as to why the decision was made to remove Jagmohan? And then, all of a sudden he was made a member of the upper house.

[Trivedi] Rumor has it that Jagmohan was admitted to the upper house because of pressure from BJP.

[Bhandari] That is totally false. We knew about it the next day only through the newspapers. I do not find any logic in nominating him as a member of the upper house.

[Trivedi] Why is the BJP opposed to taking political initiatives in Punjab and Kashmir?

[Bhandari] It is necessary to have a proper atmosphere in order to take any political initiative. Both states are lacking in this. The fear of death is always lingering in the minds of the negotiators. Even it is not clear whom to talk to. Everybody is scared to come forward. He finds a gun hanging over his head. Political conditions are unstable in both states. So far premature trials have been made to have talks. Steps had been taken, in a hurry, to hold talks. This is why no useful results could be obtained.

[Trivedi] What should be done to create an atmosphere for talks?

[Bhandari] First of all, take some stern measures. Destroy the terrorists' bases. Prohibit movements in the border areas. The government should concentrate only on one issue at a time. There is no use in looking at anything else. According to the latest reports available, now their bases are not at the places thought earlier. This means that there are bases, but their locations have changed. Training is being provided formally at those locations. It is necessary first to destroy them.

[Trivedi] Why isn't the new government able to do so?

[Bhandari] The Congress as well as the National Front governments are afraid that it might precipitate pro-Pakistani reactions among the Muslims of India. This is a dangerous line of thinking. In matters of defense against neighboring countries, if this kind of thinking is entertained the situation will become all the more complex, and it is becoming complex. It is necessary to pay more attention to the cause of the nation.

[Trivedi] Why are you so apprehensive even of common Muslims?

[Bhandari] We had, in the past, two wars with Pakistan. At that time, they remained quiet. But now, the situations are different. Pakistani elements are continuously trying their best this time to see that common Muslims react. This is a new viewpoint of development and it will be dangerous to keep sitting in a state of fear. The decision to remove Jagmohan was taken under pressure from the Muslims. They say that Pakistani elements are being killed in Kashmir mercilessly. Now, will you please tell me how to kill them? It simply means that you just don't touch any Muslim.

[Trivedi] How should we face this internal situation?

[Bhandari] The government must take effective steps to stop interference from Pakistan with a firm resolve. If there is any reaction, it has to be dealt with strongly. Otherwise, they will engulf the whole country in flames. The people of India are prepared to face the internal situation.

[Trivedi] Is it that on the controversy over the birthplace of Rama you might have to have some kind of compromise with the prime minister in the same way as you say about the Imam? Is this why Vishwanath Pratap Singh is quiet?

[Bhandari] There is a difference between the two. The Imam's stand is improper. We want to renovate the temple. Which Muslim religion prohibits demolishing an illegal structure? Don't we have rights to renovate our temples in an independent India? It is clear that that place has a significance for a temple, not for a mosque. This is a justifiable stand. Moreover, now there is even no need to demolish the mosque. Several people have suggested that it could be removed to another site.

[Trivedi] What is your opinion about the price increases after the formation of the new government at the center?

[Bhandari] Prices have increased and they are increasing. Doesn't the responsibility of controlling prices lie with the central government?

Central Food Minister Nathuram Mirdha rather thinks that the state governments are responsible for this. Then, Mr. Mirdha should also let the people know how much oil prices have been increased by the states and how much by the Center? If he puts 32 Rs on the account of the Center and 25 paise on the account of the states, I would rather suggest the states take off these 25 paise from the price simply to get rid of this accusation.

[Trivedi] Is it that relations between Janata Dal and the BJP are worsening in several states such as, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, and Bihar, as well as at the Center?

[Bhandari] For sure they are worsening. In Haryana, Chautala and his associates have issued objectionable statements many times. Several Janata Dal leaders also go on making such statements. There is nothing new about this.

[Trivedi] In spite of all these oppositions, why are you still supporting the National Front Government?

[Bhandari] We have evaluated the situation. We are not sitting blindfolded. We have also expressed our concern. But, any decision on our part may affect all of the lower house.

### **Commentary on Foreign Policy Suggests India Stand Firm**

90AS0151A Delhi DINMAN TIMES in Hindi  
10-16 Jun 90 pp 1, 6

[Commentary by Rajendra Mathur: "Indian Dream Is Older Than Communist Manifesto"; Author discusses Indo-Pakistani and U.S.-Soviet relations in terms of the great Indian War Epic 'Mahabharata' whose ending and decisive battle was fought at 'Kurukshetra'.]

[Text] When the tent camps of Hastinapur [a city] were uprooted and the Kaurvas [the enemies] had admitted all their faults right from the Lakshagriha [the beginning episode] to the pulling off of Draupdi's apparels [a later episode] what tension would there have been in a summit meeting between the Kaurvas and the Pandavas [the heroes]? There was tension only in the situation when Shri Krishna [the mediator, patron God] visited

Hastinapur for the last time as an emissary and Duryodhana [the villain] obstinately announced that he would not yield any land, not even of the size of the tip of a needle.

Mikhail Gorbachev has uprooted the tents of the communist camp during his five years of rule. Neither the American atomic bombs nor the Atlantic treaties could defeat Russia. It was the internal hollowness of the communist machinery that demolished it. If Gorbachev would not have revealed the messy conditions of the bureaucracy of Brezhnev's period, then perhaps the game might have continued for five or 10 more years. But by then, the limbs and joints of the machinery would have all the more been loosened to the extent that it could not have been sold even for the price of its iron.

Therefore, it is difficult to say that when George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev met in Washington they were holding the last summit meeting of the cold war era or they were inaugurating a new world in which not only Russia and America would remain summit nations, but there would be several others such as Japan, Europe, or a unified Germany. Then, the strength of a nation will not be defined in terms of heaps of armaments, rather it will be defined in terms of economic prosperity. Then, on this ground not even America will remain on the top as much as it is today.

Thus, the Mahabharata [the cold war] that started in 1945 immediately after World War II will be ending without the battle of Kurukshetra. Not only this, but it is ending with a loss of preeminence and relevance of both Indraprastha as well as Hastinapur. Both the hero and the villain have been dwarfed while the extra secondary actors have been given new heights. In the last scene of the act we witness the heirs of Hastinapur borrowing experts from Indraprastha for reconstruction of their capital and Mikhail Gorbachev standing at the doorsteps of the capitalist camp to help build a united European home.

So far it is all clear. However, now I want to present another scenario before you. If the capitalist West would not have fought a cold war tooth and nail for forty-five years, undergoing terrible stress and strain, could the world have seen this day today?

We, the people of India, right from the age of Nehru until now have been repeatedly saying that the American policies were wrong. It was wrong to hold talks with Moscow from a more powerful position creating a mountain of nuclear weapons. For the purpose of avoiding a world war, Foster Dulles' policy to go to the brink of a world war was not only wrong, it was also dangerous. Ronald Reagan called the Soviet Union an empire of sinners and forced them to demolish all their sources of communication by establishing medium range missiles on the grounds of Western Europe; this was wrong. It was wrong to fight with a determination to win the ideological duel with the intent that some day democracy will prevail over even the world of communism.

Imagine for a moment, what would have happened if the capitalist world would have followed Nehru's policies in 1955 itself? Possibly, the capitalists would have been at the doorsteps of the Soviet Union today with a sense of self-defeat. They would have confessed that they recognized their internal hollowness as well as their imminent end, and hence they had come to them with a request of peaceful coexistence. They would have agreed to make changes in capitalism, incorporating into it some of the better features of communism. They would also have made a request to them to incorporate into their system some of the better features of capitalism and thus bring about some changes in communism.

But then what treatment would Nikita Khrushchev have given to self-defeated capitalism who had been bragging that at the time of his grandson America would become red and that they would rest only after burying capitalism?

We should not forget that whatever fanaticism there was in the capitalist camps it was more in the communist camps. It has been mentioned in the scriptures of communism that capitalism must end and that it was the duty of every true revolutionary to hasten this end. They maintained that unless capitalism ended, the threat of war would not go from the face of the earth.

Jawaharlal Nehru and we, his Indian heirs, wanted to broaden the ground of this concessional peace more and more. Obviously, there was some purpose behind this mission. However, Russia and America were not at all prepared to reduce the significance of their ideological duel in spite of accepting the necessity of a concessional peace. Both of them held that as far as possible they would not fight a Kurukshetra, but at the same time there was no question of yielding any land even of the size of the tip of a needle to each other.

This resolve, however, was legitimate. If both Russia and America would not have had confidence in their respective ultimate victory and would not have fought a cold war tooth and nail for the sake of their respective beliefs for forty-five years, the hollow ideology would not have stumbled. Rather, that camp would have fallen apart which would have lost its breath first. Then, it would not have been an equal fight.

It is significant that immediately after the summit talks Mikhail Gorbachev did not directly return to Moscow, rather, he went to see the former president, Ronald Reagan, who had been a fierce proponent of the cold war. He admired Reagan wholeheartedly without reservations.

Can India take a lesson from this Mahabharata [cold war] ending after forty-five years?

Don't we have a large scale ideological conflict going on in our own land? Are we not facing a danger that the right camp may lose its breath first and the wrong camp may get a walk over victory? Don't we have many people saying that it is wrong and intolerant behavior to fight

tooth and nail for an ideology, and it is rather generous and democratically noble to join the ropes than to pull them?

Similar Mahabharata is being enacted in our land too. It is being enacted on the issue of what should be the fundamentals of the governmental structure in the nation of India? Will the subcontinent be constructed using the bricks and mortar held essential by the Congress since 1885 or will the map of this land be redrawn with the help of the fundamentalist forces, such as those of the Muslim League, Akali Dal, Viswa Hindu Parishad, and Shiv Sena?

The clash between capitalism and communism has been there at the most for seventy years, but an ideological conflict in India has been going on even from before the Bolshevik revolution, and there are no indications that it is going to end soon.

The ideology within the Congress gave birth to Hindustan and that within the Muslim League gave birth to Pakistan. But the partition has not ended our Mahabharata. Pakistan, sheer by its existence, has been an agent of redrawing the map of India. India, however, also has hopes that some day Congressism will prevail even over Pakistan, and then both countries will be able to live together peacefully in the same manner as Russia and America are today moving along to live.

When Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, after signing the Simla agreement in 1972, abandoned the slogan of a thousand year war with India, it appeared that perhaps Congressism might win in Pakistan. Again, when after returning to democracy Benazir Bhutto had friendly talks with Rajiv Gandhi, we pinned similar hopes. But on the other hand, we find that India is struggling with Pakistanism throbbing within itself, being instigated by the Sikhs, Muslims, as well as Hindus.

If in this cold war Congressism loses its breath, the fundamentalist forces will achieve a walk over victory. The kind of country we have been dreaming of, even from before the publication of Karl Marx's manifesto, will then be shattered. Therefore, possibly, we will not have to fight a Kurukshetra, but at the same time, we should also resolve not to yield any land not even the size of the tip of a needle. As a matter of fact, because of our policy of giving away five villages to each and every communalism we have landed ourselves in a situation where a Kurukshetra is hanging over our heads.

In this cold war in the Indian sub-continent, those who talk of Panchsheela (meaning, those who talk of human rights, giving concessions to Pakistan, and finding the social reasons of terrorism, etc.) have a limited role. They should try to broaden the ground of interim peace. But, we can win only with the resolve of Ronald Reagan standing strongly on the platform of the ideology of Gandhi and Nehru, without giving any kind of concession to the rival camp.

## PAKISTAN

### India-Pakistan Confederation Idea Termed 'Unrealistic'

90AS0166C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu  
5 Jun 90 p 3

[Editorial entitled: "Confederation—An Unrealistic Suggestion"]

[Text] India's minister of Railways, George Fernandes, in an interview over the Voice of America, said that the people of South Asia are split up. India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh may not unite, but they can at least form a confederation. They could thus change the political life of South Asia and instill new vitality into it. The Indian minister did acknowledge that this was not an opportune time to discuss this suggestion. It is an evident fact that India has never tried to create a peaceful atmosphere in the area. The single most important reason for the present tension is India's insistence that Kashmir is its inseparable part and its refusal to solve the matter according to the United Nations resolutions. Indian leaders adopted the same attitude during the partition of India. The Hindus tried to keep the Muslims under political and economic servitude, as a result of which the Muslims started the movement for the establishment of Pakistan. Instead of being realistic, the Hindu leaders opposed the demand and even Gandhi declared that Pakistan would be formed only over his dead body. After this kind of treatment, there can be no cooperation between India and Pakistan. If there is to be a confederation, it should be between Pakistan and Bangladesh, culminating in their union. India created an unnatural hatred and prejudice between these two countries and caused their dissension. If sooner or later they get together, it will be a step towards progress for South Asia.

### UNDP Report Counts Pakistan Among Military Spendthrifts

90AS0300B Karachi DAWN in English 20 Jul 90 p 1

[Article by M. Ziauddin]

[Text] Islamabad, 19 July: Pakistan has been named as one of the four developing countries whose military expenditures are nearly three times that on health and education combined, in a recently released Human Development Report-1990, authored by a team of renowned economists of the world under the guidance of former Finance Minister Mahbubul Haq.

The UNDP [United Nations Development Program] report, prepared by the Planning and later the Finance Minister of Pakistan's military ruler, the late Gen Zia-ul-Haq, reveals that Angola, Oman, Yemen (RD) and Pakistan spend nearly three times more on defence than on education and health combined.



Pakistan finds itself on the short list despite the fact that compared to other three countries, it has the lowest per capita income of 350 dollars against 470 dollars of Angola, 5,810 dollars of Oman and 420 dollars of Yemen.

The report expresses grave concern over the rapid rise in military spending in the Third World during the last three decades.

"Military expenditures of the developing countries have increased by 7.5 percent a year during the past 25 years, far faster than military spending in the industrial countries," the report pointed out.

It said that the sharp increase in military expenditures have not only pre-empted diminishing budgetary resources and squeezed social services and economic growth. They have also consumed considerable amounts of foreign exchange.

"Arms imports by developing countries skyrocketed from 1.1 billion dollars in 1960 to nearly 35 billion dollars in 1987, or three quarters of the global arms trade," it said further.

According to the World Bank, military debt is more than a third of the total debt for many large developing countries.

"What is frightening about all these figures on military expenditures is that they may well be underestimates, as few governments reveal their military spending," the report added.

The report said further that over 25 developing countries spend more on the military than on education and health combined, sometimes more than twice as much; have several times more soldiers than teachers and spend around 6 percent or more of their GNP [gross national product] on defence.

"There are eight times more soldiers in the Third World than physicians."

Nearer home South Asian countries spend 10 billion dollars annually on the military, according to the UNDP report.

The total military expenditure of the Third World is estimated at almost 200 billion dollars. If the past trends continue, it would increase between 15 and 20 billion dollars every year during the 1990. Any reduction in this will release considerable resources for social programmes.

The report believes that if human development programmes are to be more liberally accommodated in future budgets, the international community can encourage this through four specific actions:

1) The ration of military and social expenditures should increasingly be accepted as one of the criteria for external assistance.

2) Ceilings should be negotiated not only for development debts but also for military debts.

3) Arms shipments to developing countries should be discouraged, especially since pressures for such shipments are likely to increase as defence industries face major production cuts in the 1990s.

4) Major world powers should be urged to promote peaceful development in the Third World by defusing regional tensions and ensuring global security and economic justice.

The report also pointed out the defence industries in the industrial world have often aggressively sought willing clients in the Third World, offering soft credits and, on occasion, even illegal gratuities.

Many developing countries have served as convenient battle grounds for the cold war between the superpowers.

### **Sindh: 'Right Measures' Said Crucial**

90AS0166A Karachi NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu  
5 Jun 90 p 3

[Editorial entitled: "Sindh—Right Measures Are Essential"]

[Text] Addressing a meeting of the People's Party Parliamentary group and other officials, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto said, "The serious situation in Sindh is the result of the conditions prevailing in Kashmir. At a time when the Kashmir movement was at its height, India tried to weaken it by interfering in Sindh. The Indian intelligence agency, RAW [Research and Analysis Wing] created disturbing conditions in Sindh." One cannot dispute the prime minister's analysis of the situation because every Pakistani with an average understanding of affairs knows that in order to rid itself of the crisis in Kashmir, India stationed its troops in an aggressive posture on international boundaries, and when that failed to scare Pakistan it interfered in Sindh, Pakistan's "soft belly", where it found easy and already prepared favorable conditions. The prime minister has shown great courage in revealing India's secret machinations and has thus weakened the argument of those who accuse her of favoring India. The question that arises is, having foreseen retaliatory Indian moves, why weren't steps taken to block them. The prime minister will have to reveal to the nation what punishment was meted out to those ministries and agencies which were responsible for preventing Indian agents from infiltrating into Pakistan but failed to perform their duties.

If anyone has been called to account in secret, the nation is not aware of it. Another related matter is that if the prime minister believes in her own analysis that India is responsible for the disturbances in Sindh, then there should be no attempts to confuse the issue as when Begum Nusrat Bhutto, the leader of the People's Party, claimed that RAW's agents had infiltrated the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement]. Similarly, when the prime



minister says that obstructions were being placed in the arrests of terrorists in Karachi and Hyderabad, the impression is created that she is holding MQM responsible for such obstructions. It is a recorded fact, however, that during Zia's term of office, G. M. Sayed, the leader of Jiye Sindh, openly went to India to beg for Indira Gandhi's help. The prime minister and her party have further accused newspapers of reporting only one side of the issue and writing about the complaints of only one group. This means that the government is showing bias in its treatment of its erstwhile friend MQM and other groups. The fact is that having held India responsible for the situation in Sindh, the prime minister should logically abstain from using terms such as Muhajir, Sindhi, Punjabi, or Pathan and talk only of subversives and of Pakistan. On the one side in Sindh are terrorists, subversives, and elements creating disturbances; and on the opposite side are the citizens of Pakistan who are the targets of terrorism, plunder, and murder. The prime minister, her government, and her party should never say anything to encourage class, linguistic, factional, or any other kind of dissension among the people. These maladies exist in our society, but wisdom demands that when India and RAW's terrorists are considered responsible for the situation, all measures taken should be directed against them. Why then are the measures being directed against the groups, and why are Pakistan's political quarrels being dragged into the present problem?

The prime minister has demonstrated courage in taking on the responsibility of correcting the situation. This is her position: "The situation in Sindh is similar to that of 1971; but since we [the Pakistan People's Party] are in office, we would be blamed if anything should go wrong. Hence, we will take all measures allowed under the Constitution in order to prevent the emergency of another Mujibur Rahman in Pakistan irrespective of whether he should be affiliated with MQM or Jiye Sindh." The prime minister has tried to exonerate Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of any responsibility for the loss of East Pakistan by arguing that at that time chairman Bhutto was not in charge of the government. On the other hand, critics of the People's Party maintain that in order to attain power Zulfikar Bhutto helped to create those conditions in East Pakistan which culminated in its separation. However, this is not the time for such discussions, otherwise one could enter into a detailed analysis of the roles played by different individuals in the tragedy of East Pakistan.

The critics of Benazir Bhutto maintain that the present serious situation in Sindh is the result of the inopportune and regrettable incident in Hyderabad in which the police fired blindly even at women carrying Korans. That was the beginning of a continuing series of incidents and God alone knows in what kind of a tragedy these incidents will culminate. The prime minister has also openly condemned the police action in Hyderabad.

Khaliquz Zaman, the People's Party's informed mentor, still says in accusation, "It is my considered opinion that

matters are not in safe hands and it is no longer possible to bring about an improvement easily." The critics of the People's Party charge that the prime minister and her party have played the Sindh card in order to embroil the army in that province. Participants in a discussion program broadcast on Indian television have accused Benazir Bhutto of creating a war mania in Pakistan and of interfering in Kashmir in order to save herself from the crisis in Sindh; but everyone knows what truth there is in enemy propaganda. However, it is incumbent on the prime minister to reply to opposition charges that she had played the Sindh card to embroil the army in Sindh, thus weakening Pakistan's defensive capabilities and at the same time, temporarily depriving Kashmiri Muslims of moral and political support. Since the country is passing through a serious crisis and the prime minister herself has acknowledged that this is not a party issue but a matter of the country's survival, it would be advisable for the ruling authorities to clarify their position so that the people would know who is in charge of their destiny. In order to solve the present crisis, it would be best if every individual regarded himself as a Pakistani and acted accordingly. If India is our common enemy, then it should be identified and duly termed as such and, as an enemy country, India should be boycotted in every way. As long as India maintains its wrong and obstinate position on Kashmir, all the people of Pakistan should unitedly act against India and present an impenetrable front to the enemy. If our present state of disunity continues, it will not be difficult to foresee the tragic outcome from which God preserve us.

#### **Country Said in Grip of 'Extraordinary' Law and Order Problems**

90AS0148A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu  
2 Jun 90 pp 10, 12

[Lahore report by Anwar Qidwai]

[Text] The tragedy that struck Karachi and Hyderabad and the terrible bloodshed there has shocked the entire country and there is a wave of concern and restlessness all across the country. There has been a regular demand from political and popular circles that extraordinary steps be taken to normalise the Sindh and particularly the Karachi and Hyderabad situation. The federal government decided two months ago that an all-party conference, consisting of the political parties, will be called to solve the Sindh problems and the parties, rising above political differences, will jointly seek a solution to the problem. But this conference has not materialized so far. At first, it was said that the political parties conference will be held at the Sindh level, but even this could not materialize, and now the situation has become extremely grave and, apart from the political opponents, it is also being said among the ranks of the Peoples Party, that the federal and Sindh governments are responsible for it. The Peoples Party's prominent member of the National Assembly, Makhdoom Khaliq Alzaman, has called a spade a spade and he has laid the responsibility on the

prime minister. The Islamic Democratic Alliance immediately took notice of this sad tragedy and, on Wednesday, observed a day of mourning for the barbaric murder of innocent citizens and the continuing loss of life and property in Sindh province and especially in Karachi and Hyderabad. On this occasion, government offices and educational institutions remained closed and traders and the business class also expressed their solidarity with the Sindh brethren by taking part in the mourning [services] by closing markets and offices. An emergency meeting of Lahore corporation, which after Karachi corporation is the biggest corporation, was held in which deep sorrow was expressed over the bloody events in Karachi and Hyderabad and the demand was made that emergency conditions be declared in Sindh without any delay so that the masses may live in peace instead of being victims of insecurity. In case the federal government and the Sindh government are unable to do so, democracy demands that the government and the ministers should resign. These elected representatives of the four million residents of Lahore also took our protest demonstration along Qaide Azam Road, which dispersed peacefully outside the Governor's House. The Islamic Democratic Alliance leader and Chief Minister, Mian Nawaz Sharif, who had made the decision to tour Karachi and Hyderabad on a "peace mission", on Monday had an exchange of views regarding the Sindh situation with leaders of the united opposition in Islamabad and, after consulting them, had a meeting with the nation's president, Ghulam Ishaq, and following this, he issued a strong statement in which he asked for the prime minister's resignation and he stated that in case she does not resign, the masses will come out on the streets. On one hand, the situation in Karachi and Hyderabad is causing concern, and on the other hand from Monday there also will begin, in Lahore, meetings of the consultative committees of the province and the Center designed to establish a working relationship between the province and the center and to create an atmosphere of harmony, and it is the nature of democracy that in it the doors of friendship are never closed. But at this stage of current politics, there is little likelihood of immediate cordiality between the center and the province. Even then, mutual contacts should continue and elected representatives and veteran politicians should both step forward and take measures to prevent the conditions from deteriorating because it has been said for a long time that if democratic institutions fail, only "a third force" could benefit from it, and democracy, which staged a come back after a long struggle, will be snuffed out, but nobody paid any heed to it. And now the situation has come to this pass that, in Hyderabad, the police showered bullets on innocent citizens. A procession of women was also subjected to baton charge and it was also fired upon. And all this happened at the hands of Muslims upon Muslims. All of this is being done at a time when war clouds are gathering on the border and, in occupied Kashmir, the Indian military is oppressing Muslims there. Political circles are rightly expressing the

fear that the sickening incidents in Karachi and Hyderabad are fanning the flames of hatred in Sindh, "anti-national secret forces" are trying to divert the attention of the masses from an important issue like Kashmir, and the Indian secret agency RAW [Research and Analysis Wing] is involved in it. This is because, for a long time now, there has been talk of Indian interference in the affairs of Sindh. Disclosing this, Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani had long ago demanded that the borders be sealed. Many members had come from Sindh to participate in the meeting of Jamiat-i Ulema, Pakistan's central advisory council. These included Hafiz Mohammed Taqi, secretary general of the Sindh Jamiat; and Haneef Awi, a veteran from Sindh; Ullama Mustapha Allazhari' son; and many other members who also held a news conference regarding the Sindh situation. They said that the situation now is so serious that in the border areas of Sindh, Indian currency is being used and Sindhis coming from Indian parts are buying property. A few months ago, the Islamic Democratic Alliance general secretary, Professor Ghaffor, had disclosed this and had stated that, in Karachi, Hindus are buying property, but the federal government and the Sindh government did not pay any heed to this and it was said that it is not doing this so that, at the time of need, it may use the "Sindh Card" to save its government.

Democracy is the name of a system and a way of working. "Self-will" has no place in it, and when the ruling class resorted to undemocratic practices in order to maintain and extend their authority, then what transpired was exactly as had been feared. On the one hand, the ruling class brought democratic institutions into contempt by their "horse trading" and, on the other hand, there was involvement in corruption, reports of which were echoed in foreign countries. Last week a convention of opposition members from all over the country was held under the auspices of the united opposition in the national assembly in which a "charge sheet" against the federal ruling party was presented. Charges of corruption, accompanied by documentary evidence, were levied against the rulers and the ministers. Video films of many charges were also shown. This opposition convention was held in one of Rawalpindi's top hotels. It held two sessions, and the opinion of the political circles was that, by levying the charges of corruption, the opposition had started a movement against the federal government. But this movement had hardly raised its head when there was bloodbath in Karachi and Hyderabad. Political circles believe that now the situation has become intolerable and now the entire country, including Islamabad, is in the grip of rumours. One day a news item attributed to reliable sources, saying that an emergency is being imposed in Sindh, barely escaped publication in the newspapers. These rumours were still hot when the president of the nation denied it with the remarks that an emergency or martial law were not being imposed in Sindh and that the situation will improve within seven days. Popular circles expressed their displeasure at these remarks of the Nation's president, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, and seven days

had not yet passed that tragedy struck Karachi and Hyderabad. Now it is being said that martial law is being imposed in Karachi. According to one report, all of the country's assemblies are being dissolved and, by imposing emergency, fresh general elections will be held in accordance with the Constitution. It is being stated by highly responsible circles that the assemblies of all four provinces, including the national assembly, will be dismissed and elections will be held within the necessary time frame as required by the Constitution. Whereas certain political circles have demanded that, before holding elections, there should be stock-taking because the rulers have indulged in an orgy of looting and they should be called to account. Political circles say that, in view of the Sindh situation, there is no alternative left except to impose emergency in Sindh, and once this is done in one province there is only one way of ending confrontation and tension and that is that all assemblies, including the national assembly, be dissolved and constitutional methods be used to solve the problems in a democratic manner.

Veteran statesmen will have to step forward and lead the "young leadership" and they will have to work to end the mutual confrontation and tension which is turning into fighting because, under the conditions we are grappling with, the foremost need is for a strengthening of democratic institutions and this need has to be met by us all together.

#### **Shariat as 'The Source' To Be Raised at OIC**

90AS0300D Karachi DAWN in English 28 Jul 90 pp 1,4

[Article by Dawn Lahore Bureau]

[Text] Lahore, 27 July: While the National Assembly Speaker, Malik Miraj Khalid, has convened a meeting on 31 July of both the Government and the Opposition on the question of presenting the Shariat Bill, as passed by the Senate on 16 May this year, the Federal Government is seriously considering a proposal to raise the question at the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC). "The question to be raised at the OIC will be whether the Shariat is the only source of Islamic laws or one of the sources," said Khwaja Ahmad Tariq Rahim, Federal Minister for Parliamentary Affairs while talking informally to reporters here on Friday.

The Minister referred to a decree of the Parliament of Kuwait which, after a debate as to whether the Shariat was the only source of Islamic laws or one of the sources, declared that Shariat is "a source" and not "the source."

"We, in Pakistan strongly believe that all laws should be framed strictly in accordance with the Holy Quran and Sunnat," he said and added that at the same time the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Government was committed to uphold the constitution.

Khwaja Ahmad Tariq Rahim referred to Articles 2-A (Objectives Resolution), 227, 227(2) and 203(A) of the Constitution and said in the presence of the Objectives

Resolution, the Shariat Bill, in its present shape, would be in conflict with it and thus in conflict with the Constitution.

Under Article 227, the bill could be referred to the Council of Islamic Ideology and under Article 203(A) to the Federal Shariat Court. If Article 70 was to be applicable it should be placed before the National Assembly 90 days after it was transmitted by the Senate on 22 May.

Prima facie, he said, the bill came in conflict with Article 2-A and in that case the Opposition would be moving for a constitutional amendment for which it was required to show a two-third majority in the National Assembly.

However, IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] MNA [Member of National Assembly] Sheikh Rashid Ahmad had given a motion to the National Assembly that he intended to move the Shariat Bill as a private bill. "The Government will not use delaying tactics," he added. But in case it was moved as a private bill, its fate would entirely depend on the majority in the House.

"The Shariat Bill does not concern only Pakistan but the entire Muslim world," he said.

**Defection Clause:** Talking about the demand raised during the conciliation talks between the Federal and the Punjab Government regarding constitutional guarantee against floor-crossing, the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs said that since the question was raised by the Punjab Government it should first give concrete proposals and a draft on the requisite amendment.

The Minister was of the view that the Junejo Government had failed to provide the constitutional guarantee on the question of defection despite a move to incorporate relevant provision of the Political Parties Act in the Constitution. At present the provisions of the Political Parties Act was in conflict with Article 17 (Fundamental Rights).

**Benazir's Statement:** In reply to a question, he said that the statement of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto on "Hadd" punishment had been misreported and produced in certain sections of the press out of context.

What the Prime Minister had actually said while replying to a question at the Lahore airport on 19 July was that unless the society was fully transformed into an Islamic polity, the Hadd punishment would not serve any purpose, he added.

#### **Official Statements Against Press Criticized**

90AS0166B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu  
5 Jun 90 p 3

[Editorial entitled: "Government Rhetoric Against the Press"]

[Text] According to press reports, in its meeting yesterday, the People's Party's parliamentary group criticized the role of the communication media and accused independent newspapers of bias.

The difficulties that independent newspapers are facing in Sindh can be gauged from the murder of four press representatives. APNS [All Pakistan Newspapers Society] and CPNE [Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors] resolutions reflect the current situation. A more serious situation that has arisen is that instead of fulfilling their responsibilities in the matter, the government of Sindh and the federal authorities have made independent newspapers the target of attacks. A regrettable and dangerous result of their criticism could be to encourage those groups and elements in Sindh who are active against newspapers and press representatives and to give these anti-press activists the impression that their reprehensible actions are legal. The fact is that newspapers have published the accounts of the events that took place in Sindh. They have neither supported any national or linguistic group nor published reports aimed at any other group. The press has merely reported the events and has asked for impartial government action against terrorists. If people are killed during an incident, the press has to report the number of people killed; but for the first time, the government media, especially television broadcasts, are identifying the national and linguistic origins of those killed; and in regard to people arrested by the police it is also considered necessary to tell the listeners as to what group or class these individuals belong. Undoubtedly, this kind of news dissemination raises the possibility of spreading and provoking national and linguistic dissension and should be avoided. Instead of correcting the mistakes of the media under its control, the government is criticizing independent newspapers who have not been guilty of such behaviour but have shown caution in their news, editorials, and analyses. Government statements against the press could be a sign of greater pressure against the press, which would have unpleasant repercussions for the country and the nation. It is the government's duty to provide security for newspapers and journalists and to compensate adequately the dependents of those journalists who have lost their lives in the performance of their duties. The government should not indulge in irresponsible rhetoric and create additional difficulties for the press.

### Use of Army for Political Ends Criticized

90AS0148B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 11 Jun 90 p 3

[Editorial]

[Text] Following its failure to maintain peace and order in Sindh, the People's Party government called in the military, but gave no thought to the implications of calling the military, nor did it consider how the military will operate; and now that the military has been called, it is being considered how much and what kind of authority the military will have in its operation against the enemies of peace. The relevant constitutional section is being refined, and it is being deliberated whether or not there is a need for limited martial law and military courts in various cities and towns and is it the military or the civil administration that will be the real supreme

authority in the areas under operation in the course of the operation. All of these were the kinds of matters which should have been considered before calling in the military. The situation in Sindh did not develop overnight. Riots had become a permanent feature, and it had become obvious that the government and the administration would not be able to control the situation and a big riot would engulf the province. This situation was so obvious that it was crystal clear to everyone and the common wisdom was that, at some stage or another, it would become necessary to call in the military and, when this was necessary, its implications and repercussions should have been deliberated very much beforehand, but now, after calling the military, what should and should not be its range of operation and sphere of authority are being considered, and the danger is that because of differences of opinion between the civil officials and the military brass, in the course of these deliberations, an unpleasant and dangerous situation may result. Even now, as things are, statements are being issued on behalf of the military's public relations department to the effect that except for patrolling, we are not engaging in any other kind of operation and if any action is undertaken anywhere, it is by the civil administration and the responsibility for this will lie there, whereas the police and the administration are giving out the impression that the military has swung into action and it is the military that is carrying out all the arrest and raid operations. Thus a confusion has been created, not only among the masses but even among the government circles, and recently the prime minister arrived in Karachi suddenly to clear this very confusion, and there was an exchange of ideas regarding this, but it has not become clear how far, in the use of the military, the military will have initiative and authority. Meanwhile, it will not be correct to assume that the armed forces of Pakistan will operate as a subordinate agency of an administration in whose impartiality and honesty no one has any faith and which harbors the worst revengeful designs against its opponents. Therefore, it will be necessary to adopt a mode of operation under which it can be ensured that the military will not be used as a political tool, especially an administrative tool, and so long as this matter is not resolved and a clear procedure regarding this is not put into place, until then no major military operation will be possible and the military will rightfully try to keep its involvement to the minimum, and it should confine itself to patrolling by military units because it is not possible for the military to get into conflict with the masses in its role as the handmaiden of the civil administration. The military has before it the experience of East Pakistan when it had absolute power, but in the absence of a political resolution, the use of the military power led to contrary results. The situation in Sindh, whether rural Sindh or urban Sindh, also demands a political solution and the matter cannot have a military solution. Even then, if the People's Party government feels that the use of the military is necessary, it will not have the right to its unlimited use, nor should the military agree to this. Therefore, it is imperative that certain matters of principle should be settled in advance

between the prime minister and the military brass and a procedure should be laid down. If this is not done, the military will be well within its rights to refuse to associate itself with any major operation and if an operation is undertaken, it could as a result create misunderstandings regarding the military and the military could come into confrontation with the people, something that will be detrimental to the military, the people, and the country.

### **Rathore Claims 'Northern Areas' Part of Azad Kashmir**

90AS0300A Karachi DAWN in English 26 Jul 90 p 10

[Article by Nasir Malick]

[Text] Islamabad, 25 July: The Prime Minister of Azad Jammu and Kashmir [AJK], Raja Mumtaz Hussain Rathore, on Wednesday night reiterated that the Gilgit and Baltistan region, known officially as the Northern Areas in Islamabad, is an inseparable part of Jammu and Kashmir state.

Spelling out the stand of his government about the constitutional position of this region, contiguous to China with famous silk Route passing through it, he said: "Historically, culturally speaking there can be no doubt about this fact of history."

Premier Rathore was talking to DAWN after attending a meeting of the special committee appointed sometime back by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto to determine the constitutional status of the Northern Areas.

This committee was formed after the people of the Northern Areas persistently demanded constitutional rights equal to those being enjoyed by the citizens of the country.

In some circles the historical status of the Northern Areas is controversial although under the United Nations Resolutions on Kashmir this region forms part of Kashmir with people enjoying the plebiscite rights. The UN-promised plebiscite is yet to be held in Kashmir under the resolutions of 13 August 1948 and of 5 January 1949.

Presently, the Northern Areas are controlled by the Pakistan Government through its Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas. These areas have an elected regional council without any legislative powers.

Wednesday's meeting of the special committee was presided over by Federal Minister of Law, Justice and Provincial Coordination Syed Iftikhar Hussain Gilani.

Premier Rathore said the meeting took place in a very congenial atmosphere with frank discussion and sharing of perceptions. "My view is that this entire matter should be settled in the larger interests of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan," he said.

Implicitly referring to the pending Kashmir plebiscite Mr Rathore said the people of Gilgit and Baltistan have a historical role to play in the affairs of the State. He told that a sub-committee with Adviser, Northern Affairs Division, as its Chairman has been constituted to formulate 'concrete proposals' on the subject. Members of the subcommittee include one member from the Northern Areas Council and a representative each from the Ministries of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Affairs, Foreign Affairs and Finance. The sub-committee is to submit its proposals within two weeks.

Meanwhile, the members of the Northern Areas Council reportedly assured the special committee that they would cooperate fully in delineating the status of Gilgit and Baltistan in the larger interests of the people.

MEETS PM: The AJK Premier also had a meeting with Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto at the Prime Minister House on Wednesday.

The points which prominently figured in the meeting were related to development funds for Azad Kashmir in the forthcoming AJK Budget of Kashmir situation and development operations in the state.

Informed sources said that special thrust of the meeting was on the ever-worsening situation in Indian-held Kashmir.

Observers attach high significance to this meeting during which Adviser to the Prime Minister on National Security, Mr Iqbal Akhund was specially called in.

Sources said the meeting also took stock of the fallout of the Indian Prime Minister Mr V.P. Singh's visit to USSR. Moscow has counselled a political solution of Kashmir tangle which indicates a major and basic shift in the Kremlin's policy on Kashmir.

Sources also said the influx of Kashmir refugees into the Azad Kashmir territory also figured in the meeting.

### **Report Says Politicians Frequent Pleasure Houses**

90AS0201A Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu  
23 Jun 90 p 10-15

[Article by Sarafraz Malik: "Who Frequents Islamabad's Pleasure Houses?"]

[Text] [Box] The illegal guest houses situated in various residential areas in Islamabad are being found to be the new pleasure houses. Arrangements for dance and drinking in these pleasure houses is a common thing. Rakish rich people prefer to stay in these whore houses than in some five-star hotel. There are about 45 guest houses in Islamabad plying this illegal trade, however, the government is not paying any attention to them. According to some HURMAT sources, many influential government officials and some ministers frequent these guest houses. We are describing the inside activities of a guest house in this story that might expose some well-known people. [End of Box]

It is unfortunate that since the establishment of Pakistan, all our national leaders, with few exceptions, have considered this nation their personal property and the national treasury as a free gift. They have treated this country worse than a Western lover treats his mistress. The main difference between the western and the eastern traditions is that [in the western tradition] a national leader or an important government official loses his job if found involved in corrupt activities, while in our country, however, our government provides fringe benefits such as access to alcoholic drinks, women, and fancy food, along with the responsibilities of an important position. There are many examples of the former PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government picking up the tab for its ministers' drinking and debaucheries. No one has dared to question them. To our knowledge, no cabinet minister in Pakistan ever had to leave his position because of sexual or financial corruption. In our country, if a minister is proved to be corrupt and is found guilty of corruption by a court of law, his associates work to prove that he is innocent. If the news of a minister's sexual involvement with a government employee is published in a newspaper, the editor of that paper is slapped with a 10 million rupee fine for defamation. Everyone interested in history knows how only recently many important leaders in Japan had to sacrifice their public careers when a sex scandal raised its ugly head there. Gary Hart, a candidate for the U.S. presidency had to relinquish his candidacy because of sexual relationship with a woman. We have a leader in our country who is used to making his nights enjoyable while ignoring the country's future. It seems that he is trying to remind us of the founder of the PPP and leader of the people 20 years ago.

Our beloved country has passed through even worse phases since its inception, however, Yahaya Khan and his associate, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, were able to push this tendency to its limits. Bhutto finished what Yahaya Khan had started during his rule. Permits were issued to prostitutes and the selling of alcoholic beverages was made common. His own role in these activities was very prominent. He had admitted in a meeting that he did drink, but only moderately. Mr. Z. A. Bhutto was the first prime minister of this country who did not even drink its water. He was so extravagant that the prime minister's annual personal expense account was about nine million rupees. Mr. Bhutto had built a bar to seat 15 persons in his Clifton Road residence. In addition to some paintings, there were pictures of nude or semi-nude women in this bar room. A famous painting of Omar Khayyam with the title, "grow grapevines on my grave and tell my lovers to irrigate my grave with wine instead of saying prayers there," was bought from Tehran for 125,000 rupees. Thus, this bar was beautifully decorated. According to reliable sources, the bill for this bar was paid from the government treasury. Bottles of the world's best alcoholic beverages were available in this bar. These included the 5,000 rupee Royal Salute in addition to Black Dog, Johnny Walker, Black Label, Chivas Regal, Dimple, and other expensive whiskeys.

The doors of this bar room opened into the library and into Mr. Bhutto's bedroom. According to some sources, Mr. Bhutto used to go to the bar room whenever he woke up at night. Stories of colorful nights during Yahaya Khan and Bhutto's times have decorated thousands of pages in newspapers and magazines. The late president Ziaul Haq had closed all immoral places to clean up the society. He had canceled all liquor licenses and implemented the religious system. We need at least a decade to purify our youth of the corruption of the Bhutto era. However, it is important that such activities be banned now and in the future.

Many people wrongly thought that Mrs. Benazir Bhutto was mentally prepared when she had returned from nine years of self-imposed exile in April 1986. Later, when Benazir Bhutto entered the Prime Minister's House on 2 December 1988 as the new prime minister, supporters of democracy heaved a sigh of relief that democracy had finally arrived in Pakistan. However, the far-sighted observers of the Bhutto family's politics and the tendencies of the PPP knew better. When the federal cabinet was announced, we saw an army of ministers, advisers, and special assistants. The people were shocked at some of the names included in these lists as they were accused of breaking the ordinance on alcoholic beverages. The PPP leadership knew it all, but still gave these people protection under its tri-colored flag. It will have to pay the price for this sooner or later. This price could be as dear as losing power.

Our observations show that immorality, indecency, and obscenity emerged in this country after 11 years as soon as the Bhutto government took over. The leader daughter followed the footsteps of her leader father. The old story is being repeated and no one is here to check it. Our capital, like many other parts of the country, has become a favorite place for foreign terrorists, corrupt industrialists, journalists, foreign travelers, ministers and their advisers. The illegal guest houses have become new centers of debauchery. These guest houses are illegal since the CDA [Capital Development Authority] rules and regulations do not allow use of residential property for business. However, there are 45 such guest houses plying illegal trade in Islamabad only.

These guest houses are located in the most modern and most expensive areas in Islamabad, where a house costs between four to five million rupees. Interestingly enough, many neighbors of these guest houses have filed many complaints with the CDA, district administration, and high government officials against these guest houses. The government has totally ignored these complaints. Our investigations show that some politicians and district administration officials are involved in running these guest houses. In addition to making money, they use these guest houses for procuring alcoholic beverages, young girls, and dancing for higher officials. Soft bodies are heated, drinks are passed around, and the parties last all night. Young foreign girls are also invited to these guest houses to make the government officials happy. These girls live in posh residential areas and are usually

connected with some intelligence agencies. When young bodies and alcohol circulate and show their effect in the wet nights, the participants begin to get rid of their clothes. The foreign beauties get a lot of information for their secret agencies at that time. The drunk simpletons tell everything that the foreign agents were waiting to hear for years under the influence of liquor. They learn what they were saying only when it is too late. The guest house proprietors not only make a lot of money, but also manage to become favorites of these ministers by taking advantage of their weakness and making them happy. They use this for wrong reasons later.

Why this epidemic of guest houses?—There is a dearth of good hotels, colleges, and universities in Islamabad now. In addition to Islam, everything is being settled in Islamabad [literally "settlement of Islam"] in the Margila Hills. Since this is the capital, the people have to wait for hours (and sometimes have to stay for days) to see officials in the prime minister's secretariat or in other ministries. The hotels are usually full and very expensive. Thus, these visitors go to these guest houses where they are provided many amenities at reasonable prices. Foreigners also have followed our countrymen's practice. The reason is that these guest houses have prostitutes, liquor, gambling, and dancing until late into the night.

The security and government officials check the five-star hotels. Why have these guest houses been exempt from governmental inspections? Perhaps, the persons who are provided liquor, young women, dancing, and other entertainments are so influential that the government officials are unable to touch them!

I would like to share a minor incident with my readers in this context. This incident occurred in a guest house surrounded by beautiful houses in F-7 residential area, in April 1990, involving a federal minister and a minister of state. What happened was that during a romantic April night two dancers, burdened with the worries of the world, were trying to entertain these two ministers with the movements of their bodies. Drinks were also being consumed. As the night advanced, the henchmen of both ministers began to compete for company. There were not enough dancers to please the number in the group. A Central Bureau of Investigation sub-inspector, who was a part-owner of this establishment, decided to please the full minister. The state minister's followers opposed this plan. The police in the mountains rushed when they heard the sound of gun fire from the guest house. The police recovered a 30 bore revolver, however, the FAR [Fire Arms Regulation] was not implemented because of the ministers.

In order to save his business, the guest house owner offered 25,000 rupees to the police for not implementing the FAR. The police rejected this offer. However, they agreed to comply for 10,000 rupees if they were provided a scapegoat. The sub-inspector who had procured girls for the ministers was suspended. Both minister were free to go home, however one of them had to work very hard

to save his "rings". The minister of state, of course, has the government in his pocket.

Immoral and sexual activities in Islamabad's guest houses, that have for all purposes become whore houses, are being managed on modern lines now. Beautiful and educated girls are actively participating in this occupation. According to reliable sources, some of these fashionable girls are partners in these guest houses. All they have to do is contact beautiful girls working in government, semi-government, and private offices, as well as nurses working in hospitals. They select probable candidates and supply them for business. It would be very difficult for a person to connect these women with such a business, as these women are usually very well dressed and speak fluent English.

According to our information, some of the owners of these brothels have started call girl home services also. All deals are made by telephone and the names of some drugs and cars are used as code words, and the call girl is sent to the appropriate place. The client is responsible for returning the girl. Innocent girls from good families are embarrassed at bus stops by these immoral girls. According to another source, the owners of these guest houses have good looking young men and women on their regular payrolls. These girls speak fluent English. They frequent airports and introduce themselves as tour guides. These girls stay with the tourists day and night as their guides. These foreigners do not miss their girlfriends. Similarly, young men from fashionable areas "guide" through the whole city the foreign lady tourists they pick up at the airport. At night, when these guest houses are peddling wine and women, the uneven roads of Islamabad are quiet like a cemetery, and the whole city is as silent as death, these "guides" show these tourists hillsides and other beautiful sights. They make sure that our foreign guests do not become the clients of other people. That is why when these tourists leave Islamabad after a few days, they stop thinking of Pakistan as an Islamic country. It worries us since these foreign tourists must be telling stories about Pakistan after spending some time with these "guides". Pakistanis living abroad must be shocked upon hearing such remarks about their country. The government must take immediate action to stop this business which is tainting Pakistan's image abroad.

Bars—In addition to these guest houses, state agencies and some embassies also play an important role in procuring alcohol and women for this immoral business. Politicians, high officials, journalists, and other persons who attend parties in these embassies are often seen drinking whiskey in glasses covered with handkerchiefs or tissue paper. Employees of some of these embassies sell liquor openly. Poor countries of the Third World such as the Philippines, Thailand, India, and Bangladesh



are very active in this trade. This explains why the employees of these embassies are friendly with the Pakistani staff and all the officials, journalists, and ministers given to drinking.

**Revenge on Punjab**—We contacted many owners of these guest houses to research this report. The owner of a guest house occupying a beautiful house in E-7 area told us in an emotional voice that when some of the Sindhi members of the National Parliament and ministers leave the guest house drunk, they laugh and announce that they had taken revenge on Punjab. This guest house manager hails from a poor family in Sahiwal. In a sad voice he said that he is embarrassed and hurt when he hears Sindhi National Assembly members and ministers make such remarks and feels like strangling their throats.

This whole affair should be a cause of concern for the members of our government that Islamabad had escaped this epidemic for a long time. Who is to be blamed now that the PPP has come to power and this immorality has spread? The government, the ministers, or their advisors? Why are scarfs snatched away from the heads of innocent and well-mannered girls by those looking for call girls? Why aren't these brothels closed despite complaints from peaceful citizens? Why aren't the officials, who instead of imposing taxes on these guest houses go there to play with the girls, taken to task? Why aren't corrupt ministers and their assistants investigated? Why aren't the influential people running these guest houses arrested? Where will these ten-percenters take this country to? This business could be ignored if it was being plied in some remote area. Isn't it strange that all this is happening where the president, the prime minister, federal agencies, and all the intelligence agencies work? Why doesn't the prime minister fire all the ministers who are addicted to drinking? If the federal government does not stop this habit of our ministers and the army of diplomats, then we will see the repetition of the 1971 incident that resulted in breaking our country into two parts because our prime minister at that time was too drunk. Was this nation established to perform immoral acts and break into smaller nations? The answer to these questions is beyond the scope of this report. Any Pakistani with a brain can answer these questions, anyway!

### **Seminar Consensus Places Army Under Civilian Authority**

90AS0300C Karachi DAWN in English 20 Jul 90 p 12

[Article by Hazoor Ahmed Shah]

[Text] Karachi, 19 July: City's intelligentsia, by consensus, emphasised on Thursday that the armed forces "must" function in accordance with the Constitution under the directive of the "established civilian authority."

In a stout defence of parliamentary democracy they said all the organs of the State were required to respect the

mandate of the Parliament which, they asserted, was a "sovereign representative institution."

Scores of intellectuals, educationists, economists and journalists, who participated in the two-day seminar on the ethnic polarisation in Sindh, took time to decide how long the Army should stay in aid of the civil administration.

Some thought the involvement of the Army in aid of civil power should be "as long as necessary." But the consensus developed was that it (Army's involvement) should be for the "shortest possible period of time."

A general feeling was that neither for the Army nor for the civilian authority it was advisable to get "tied up for long." The civil power should rely on its inherent political strength, while the Army should remain disengaged from statecraft and instead, concentrate on its primary defence responsibilities.

The fourth and concluding session of the seminar at which several recommendations were finalised and adopted by consensus, was presided over by Mr Hameed Haroon, Deputy Chief Executive of DAWN group of newspapers.

Syed Qamruzzaman Shah was in chair at the morning session for which the topic of discussion was "Situation in Sindh—the Economic Factor."

The Federal Ministry of Information and Broadcasting organised the two-day seminar—the first attempt at associating the intelligentsia belonging to various strata of society in the common endeavour to get over the ethnic divide. Secretary Shahjehan Karim had, at the outset, assured the participants that their recommendations would be given effect to.

In keeping with its spirit of understanding and harmony the Seminar unanimously adopted a single line, but significant, recommendation that "the distinct historical and cultural identity of Sindh must be preserved."

Viewing with deep concern at the use of display of firepower, the participants called upon the political parties to make "serious efforts" to disarm their political supporters, including the student wings.

The seminar believed there were large number of illegal and sophisticated weapons in the hands of the members of various groups all over Sindh.

It recommended that the results of efforts made so far to recover illegal arms and the names of the persons from whom the arms were recovered, should be publicised to enable the law-abiding and peace-loving citizens to give information to the authorities leading to more recovery of illegal arms.

Besides, it urged that concrete measures be taken to recover all the illegal weapons in the province "by a fixed deadline."



As for Sindh's development sector a feeling sharply voiced was that the "deprivation of certain sections" of the population in Sindh had been accentuated due to lack of economic opportunities.

It was, therefore, recommended that along with the development process, additional steps should be taken immediately to set up agriculture-based and cottage industries in the province, especially the rural areas. In every tehsil down to the village level appropriate infrastructural facilities be provided on an urgent basis. In urban areas, the participants felt, efforts should be made to develop suitable industries.

The seminar strongly pleaded with the people at large and the public figures, in particular, that they should avoid making "provocative statements, couched in harsh language."

For the media the advice was that it should abstain from giving publicity to such inflammatory material.

The two sessions on Thursday presented a situation of contrast. Speeches at the morning one dealing with the economic factors weighing Sindh's ethnic divide were rather matter of course and repetitive. The afternoon session at which recommendations were finalised was livelier with Mr Haroon's own contribution.

The points highlighted by the participants as the morning session pertained to the imperative need of ensuring equitable distribution of resources and more industrialisation in Sindh's interior. A balance ought to be struck between the rural and urban areas with the provision of more job opportunities. Besides, it was stressed that there should be long-term planning to cope with the 6 per cent annual population growth in Karachi.

Syed Hashim Raza, who has served Sindh since before partition, said the refugees ceased to be refugees once they reached the destination. Those who migrated from India had come for the love of Pakistan and not for that of any province. In Sindh they filled the vacuum in business, civil services etc. caused by the migration en bloc of Hindu Gujratis and Maharattas. In 1947 there was not a single textile mill compared to more than 100 now.

He denied that the Mohajirs were benefited by their own civil officers and said that the latter were merely implementing the policies of the Government.

Mr Tariq Saeed said the supply and demand position in Karachi could not be maintained because of the annual 6 percent population growth as against the country's 3.2 percent annual growth.

Decrying the policy of ad hocism he said there was dire need for long-term planning to get optimum results for the future. However, he said, investment will remain shy unless the law and order situation was normalised and dacoities and the kidnappings for ransom were checked.

Syed Qamruzzaman Shah thought the Sindhis have remained "hewers of wood and drawers of water" because the lands of the Ghulam Mohammad Barrage and Sukkur Barrage were denied to the rightful Sindhi owners and were given to the Punjabi and ex-servicemen settlers. Administration-wise, the One Unit thrust on the Sindhis left them backward as they were discriminated against.

Dr Rafiq Ahmad urged that the various communities living in Sindh, particularly the Sindhis, have a right to have a share in the Centre's policy-making process.

Being a multi-national province, Sindh could still prosper as the ethnic groups were in a position to help in the equitable distribution of resources he thought.

Mr Sultan Ahmad, a free-lance journalist, said that population explosion, low economic growth and inflow of immigrants from foreign countries as well as the people from upcountry towns were main factors contributing to the economic ills with which Sindh had remained beset.

Another inhibiting factor to Sindh's economy was the rural-urban divide between the old and new Sindhis. This has been heightened by rural backwardness, he pointed out.

Mr Zafar Ujjan was of the view that as Sindh was facing a grave crisis, migration into the province should stop forthwith.

He deplored that the economy of Sindh had changed due to heroin trade. Mr Hameed Haroon, making brief observations at the afternoon session, emphasised that the process of happy co-existence could be evolved and practised if certain basic norms were adhered to by the various communities.

At the core of the ethnic divide was the denial of human rights to all those inhabiting Sindh, he said. Iniquitous distribution of resources and imbalances and contradictions in the existing worn-out social order were other factors contributing to chauvinism and violence, he added.

Mr Farhad Zaidi, Editor of the daily 'Muslim,' observed that the Sindh situation could not be isolated from the mainstream and that it had to be tackled from the national perspective and as Pakistanis.

He held the view that source of unity was Pakistan nationhood, if not then "we would keep on looking to Army."

Abdus Sattar Afghani, former city Mayor and a Jamaat-i-Islami leader, said that as the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] had public mandate in Sindh, Prime Minister Bhutto and Mr Altaf Husain should jointly undertake a "peace tour" of the province.

He criticised the ban on setting up big industries in Karachi.

Haji Hanif Tayyab, a JUP [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan](Niazi group) leader, urged that Sindh's quota at the Centre be given to the province according to its population.

To a question he favoured ban on all the linguistic groups.

Mr S.S. Jafri urged the 1972 language accord arrived at during the late Mr Bhutto's regime should be implemented.

Senator Ejaz Jatoi alleged that 22 lakh acres of three Barrages in Sindh had been given over to the "outsiders" and demanded that the lands be restored to the rightful owners—the Sindh 'Haris.'

Shah Faridul Haq, a JUP (Noorani group) leader, was of the view that it was a case of conflict between the 'Wadera' and the 'Hari' and to divert public attention disturbances were being caused in Karachi and Hyderabad.

Mr M.A. Zuberi, Editor, 'Business Recorder,' emphasised the need of infrastructure development in the backward rural areas of Sindh. Besides, he said a network of cottage industries be started there.

Asked why the PPP and the MQM leaders were not invited when politicians like Mir Nawaz Marwat, Haji Hanif Tayyab, Shah Faridul Haq and Senator Jatoi were present, the Federal Information Secretary, Mr Shahjehan Karim explained that invitations had not been issued to any politician or political party. Those invited were in their capacity as intellectual, he said.

#### **Commentary Says Sindh Needs Stability Before Development Plans**

90AS0148C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 10 Jun 90 p 3

[Editorial]

[Text] In the new financial year, over 3.5 billion rupees have been earmarked for Sindh development plans. This does not include the special development plans and the plans based on aid from foreign countries. One thousand plans are being included in the annual development program on recommendations from elected representatives; and the provincial government is trying to bring to fruition 2,000 plans. The government has also approved the setting up of a large number of industrial units in Sindh, and resources and loans have been provided for this end, and the prime minister greatly desires that regions of interior Sindh should also make progress in the field of industrialization. But the question is that under the general conditions of unrest, bloodshed, looting, and pervasive fear, how can Sindh be industrialized. At the moment, investors are fleeing the cities of Sindh and industry is in the throes of unrest. Besides industry, even Sindh's agriculture has been hurt by the

recent rioting because there is no security for the life of either the peasant or the landlord. Fines are being collected even from aboriginal Sindhis. Settlers are fleeing and Muhajirs are once again getting uprooted. Under these conditions, the large sums of money that have been earmarked for Sindh's development cannot do Sindh any good. Therefore it is the responsibility of those who have the good of Sindh at heart and those who claim to love Sindh that they should try to create in Sindh an atmosphere of peace and brotherhood. Without such an atmosphere, there can be no industrial, commercial progress in Sindh, nor can there be improvement in its agriculture, nor can the people obtain employment. Indeed, peace and brotherhood are the greatest needs of Sindh, otherwise Sindh, which is already backward, will continue to slip further into backwardness and it will not be able to benefit from the government's development plans.

#### **SRI LANKA**

#### **Lankan Government's Plan for Tamils Termed 'Quixotic'**

90P40119A Madras DINAMANI in Tamil  
13 Aug 90 p 6

[Editorial entitled: "An Impractical Plan"]

[Text] To free Jaffna from the control of the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam], a large scale attack has been planned by the Sri Lankan government. To avoid innocent citizens being affected by the attack, the Lanka government has decided to move the eight lakh Tamils living in the Jaffna peninsula to Vavuniya, and to settle them in refugee camps there.

The Sri Lankan deputy defense minister, Ranjan Wijaratne, announced in the Sri Lankan Parliament that this plan will be implemented as soon as President Premadasa authorizes it.

The plan does not sound pragmatic or wise. Eight lakhs is a large number. There are many problems and hurdles in relocating well-settled people in that number. Can they be moved safely? What will happen to their belongings in Jaffna? Can they all be accommodated in one refugee camp? If they are accommodated in a single camp, what of the food, hygiene, and shelter issues that could arise? These are some of the many questions that come out of such a consideration. More importantly, such a forced exodus of Sri Lankan Tamils from their own home will be considered by onlooking countries around the world as a non-democratic, cruel, and atrocious deed. It is the duty of that government to provide for the safety and security of the lives and belongings of Sri Lankan Tamils right in their own homes.

### **Premadasa Urges Peaceful Resolution of Challenges**

90AS0298A Colombo DAILY NEWS in English  
25 Jul 90 pp 3,5

[Speech by President R. Premadasa, on the opening of "Aluthnuwarangama" shrine]

[Text] Today we are assembled at a historic sacred area. We who are meeting here today have a special reason to be happy. That reason is the fact that while restoring the historic Dedimunda Devalaya, the area surrounding the shrine too has been subjected to substantial improvement. Towards the end of 1988 we declared this shrine and its environs a "sacred area."

I can remember, Mr Wimalanath Dissanayake the Chairman of the Samadhi Foundation met me on several occasions those days and brought to my notice the deplorably neglected condition to which the temple of the great deity Dedimunda and its premises had fallen.

Those representations compelled our attention to the condition of this shrine. Mr Chandra Ranatunge, your member of parliament, too promised to extend his fullest support to implement any plans for the improvement of the devalaya. He made a special request that the area surrounding the devalaya too be developed so that there would be a re-awakening in the life of the people living in the vicinity.

Since the great deity Dedimunda is a protective deity of the people of the area, I realised the importance of the implementation of this suggested development plan. In addition to declaring this shrine and its premises a sacred area, and effecting improvements to them in homage to the deity, I thought it also appropriate to develop the surrounding area and uplift the life of the people in a manner that would please the great guardian deity.

Today we have much joy in seeing the results of this effort. Just as the people did in the times of the ancient kings, the people pay their homage to this shrine today also. Along with the restoration of the devalaya, the surrounding area inhabited by 630 families have been developed as a re-awakened village providing shelter to all homeless families, thereby affording much solace to their minds. We have named the village "Nawanuwaragama." We today gave it over to the people in homage to the great deity Dedimunda.

Nawanuwaragama has been provided with all basic facilities needed by a village. That is the special reason for satisfaction I referred to. There are developments that take place which could be considered precursors of the dawn of an era of prosperity. The development of shrines in the country which the people hold in great veneration and introduction of policies and programmes for the uplift of the living conditions of the common people are unmistakable harbingers of an era of prosperity.

It was on the 21st of July 1977 that the United National Party received the mandate of the people to guide their destinies, since its term in the Opposition. So on the 21st of July 1990 we complete 13 years of our wardenship. About 11 of these 13 years we had to devote to reorganise the economy of the country. While doing this we were called upon to face other serious challenges too.

For the past 17 years the situation in the North and East has been unstable. You know that as a result of certain measures adopted to resolve the problem of the North and East a campaign of terror was unleashed in other parts of the country. This situation prevailed in a good part of the last 11 years.

When again at the Presidential Election of 1988, you entrusted us with stewardship of the country we accepted the responsibility to face two challenges. That is, we accepted the responsibility of resolving the unsettled situation in the country and also of taking forward the economy which was already looking up.

Although the situation at that time seemed to hold forth two challenges to us, in fact it contained three challenges. I am referring to the problem that arose as a result of our being compelled to invite the Indian Army into the country in our attempt to resolve the North-East problem. So, after the 1988 December Presidential Elections and the General Elections of February 1989, having formed our new government we had to face three big challenges.

Now we have satisfactorily solved the problems put before us by two of these challenges. We succeeded in persuading the Indian government to take back the IPKF [Indian Peacekeeping Force]. We have also successfully eliminated the terror created by the J.V.P. Now we are faced with only one challenge, namely to find a lasting solution to the unstable situation in the North and East. I may state with confidence that we will find a solution to that problem too before long.

Whatever the challenge we are faced with, we must try to adopt peaceful means to resolve it. My biggest election pledge was to bring about peace in the country. The second pledge was to bring about discipline, and the third was to build prosperity.

It is only in a peaceful and disciplined society that we can bring about prosperity. We must develop the country so that every family will be able to live a dignified life without depending on the charity of others. Every family must have a piece of land and a house of its own, and some means of livelihood. It is only then that we can say that there is prosperity in the country.

We can build such prosperity only if there is social peace. You know very well what great terror was unleashed and what great loss was caused to the economy by the actions of the J.V.P. You who are living in areas like Mawanela and Kegalle are quite aware of the destruction caused by them.

The situation was so grave that the people found it not safe any longer to remain in their houses. Many people abandoned their homes and sought shelter in other areas. The poor and the helpless went into hiding not only in the night, but even during the day time.

These terrorists visited houses and removed forcibly the identity cards of the inmates. Their wealth was plundered. They raped innocent women and destroyed public property. They blasted electricity transformers and destroyed culverts and bridges. Land-mines were set on the highways and the transport system was crippled. About 500 buses and vans were destroyed and another 500 were demobilised.

It is because of this that you experience difficulties in travelling today. Living in the villages became almost impossible. Lorries transporting food-stuffs and essential requirements were destroyed. A mere chit passed on was powerful enough to compel the people throughout the country to close their places of work.

Government officials from Grama Niladharis to Government Agents and other government officers lived in fear of being assassinated. These terrorists went on killing them indiscriminately. They threatened the armed forces and the police. The entire economy collapsed. That is why I say that there can be no prosperity when no peace exists.

By July, August 1989 the government coffers were depleted. Trade and Commerce collapsed and industry was at a stand-still. Earning of foreign exchange was not possible. I am sure you remember this period of chaos and terrorism.

### Compromise

Our heroic armed forces and the police had to protect you at the risk of their lives from those J.V.P. terrorists [Janata Vimukthi Peramuna]. We did our utmost to bring about peace by consultation, compromise and consensus. We invited the J.V.P. for talks. Many people were of the view that the J.V.P. should not be invited for talks as they were really an atrocious group of people.

Terrorism and murder were their answers to our invitations when we offered them a number of seats in parliament, their terrorist activities increased. You all know what happened to them. They alone are to be blamed for what happened to them. We follow the teachings of Lord Buddha and accordingly we do not discard a person, however cruel. We try our best to reform him. With all that, if he does not reform himself it may be due to his past sins, his Kamma.

Similarly we invited the L.T.T.E. [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] in the North-East for talks. They had talks with us. Some people ask us what we were discussing with them well over one year. They say they are interested in knowing what we actually talked. A person who is genuinely asleep can easily be awakened, but it is not so with a person who is pretending. Some people are

exactly like that. However, much you tell them they pretend that they did not hear. I would like to tell them over again what we have been doing.

By our talks we were able to stop the severe attacks that were going on. From 1983 our officers in Sinhala villages in the North-East were subjected to great harassment. Bhikkhus who were on a pilgrimage were massacred. People in these areas became refugees. Such things did not take place during the period we had talks. That was a great relief.

During the same period the J.V.P. terrorism reached its peak. The armed forces and police were able to concentrate their activities in suppressing J.V.P. terrorism, as their services were not required in the North-East. As a result of the talks we had with the L.T.T.E., they agreed to enter the democratic stream. They registered themselves as a political party. They requested the dissolution of the North-East Provincial Council and holding of fresh elections.

I explained to them that our government is prepared to do justice to all communities within the framework of our constitution. We are not prepared to give into threats. Our actions are determined by the process of consultation and consensus.

In the meantime, there was a violation of the provisions of the constitution by E.P.R.L.F. [Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front] and E.N.D.L.F. [Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front] who were in power in North-East Provincial Council. They passed a resolution to establish an Eelam state, even before L.T.T.E. They did not like our having a dialogue with the L.T.T.E. They unilaterally declared an Eelam state.

The North-East Provincial Council became ineffective. The chief minister left the country after making this declaration. This created the necessity to dissolve the North-East Provincial Council. The L.T.T.E. was told that the provincial council would be dissolved as there had been a violation of the constitution and they could obtain a mandate from the people.

What they said they wanted was to get a mandate from the people of the North-East and have a discussion with the government. They wanted to ascertain from the representatives who would be elected what the people of the North-East wanted. I was very happy about what we achieved from the dialogue we had.

It was at this juncture that the armed forces and police were attacked because of an incident that took place in a refugee camp in Batticaloa. They had prepared themselves for war while the discussions were going on. We have no double standards. We place full confidence in our dealings with others. We don't go back on our words. But they seem to have had some other intention when they had discussions with us.

### Misconception

People say that the L.T.T.E. had deceived us. But I say the L.T.T.E. had deceived the people of the North-East. This will be evident when the L.T.T.E. is rejected by the people before long. An honest man can never be deceived by a dishonest man. They may perhaps be of the view that they were able to deceive us. They will come to know eventually that they had deceived themselves. That is the inexorable law of nature. Nobody can change this.

These people in the North-East are undergoing great hardships. Those people have been caught up in that struggle and suffered for 17 years. Those who promised liberation to them have made them undergo untold suffering by resorting to violence.

The liberation promised by the J.V.P. too was not second to that. They also promised to liberate the people of other areas in the country. We sometimes thought that it was an honest struggle they were carrying on. But ultimately it came to light that the top leaders of the J.V.P. had lived in great luxury at the expense of the poor young men and women. They rallied round them the innocent village boys and girls and got them to agree to be sacrificed to further their own selfish interests, holding out to them a false promise of liberation. Today, I must say, a similar story of treachery is unfolding in the North and East.

Some time back, there were many people who had not understood the real nature of the struggle of these elements. The world outside had not understood them. All thought that the Sinhalese were destroying the innocent Tamils. There is no such misconception today, either in this country or the outside world.

You know that a number of Tamil militant organisations that fought the government with arms in hand, have today risen up against the Tamil Tigers. All the people of this country—Sinhala, Tamil, Muslims and Burgher—have realised that our government did its best to resolve problems through discussion. They have realised that the present situation has arisen because of the stubbornness and recalcitrance of the L.T.T.E. The whole world has realised that truth. That is the triumph of the process of discussion we set in motion.

Some people think that discussion is very good, but it is wrong to venture to discuss with bad people. How are we to find out in advance whether a person is good or bad? Those who put on a show of goodness may very well turn out to be bad and those who appear to us to be bad, sometime may be found to be good. Very often those who have very evil ways have some good also in them. It is to discover that good we are striving.

### Nonviolence

That is why we try to resolve problems through non-violence. Instead, if we try to tackle all problems by war, the innocent people who get caught in the cross-fire

would be the people who suffer most. If Lord Buddha happened to think that He should not talk to Angulimala because he was wicked, he (Angulimala) would have come right up to the present era without giving up his inhuman practice of cutting off and collecting the fingers of human beings to make his guru-pooja!

Unlike the Lord Buddha we do not have the capacity to see through the character of a person to understand whether he would be amenable to the Dhamma or not. That is why we talk to everybody to see whether there will be a good response or not.

Some say that we should have talks only with good people. Perhaps they may be people who have developed supra-mundane powers of mind to be able to see through the minds of other people! I do not think most of us have such powers. There may be only one or two persons, if at all, in a society, who have such powers, at any time. If these critics are gifted with such powers I would like to request them first of all to resolve their domestic quarrels, using them.

How are we to be sure as to what is in the mind of a person who starts a discussion with us? But however bad a person may be, we try to resolve our problems with him by peaceful means. That is why I offered to hold talks with Mr Rohana Wijeweera. Those who were much more learned than I told me not even to think of having talks with such murderers. But I did not give up my policy of talking to people until the last moment.

We must look at problems from a realistic point of view. This is not a war we wanted or for which we had any preparations. We cannot bring solace to people through arms. When the present war started, our parliament had to make an allocation of 5,000 million rupees for military expenses. That was money we had conserved to afford relief to your lives.

From 1989 onwards we took steps to resurrect the economy of this country. We were able during the last six or seven months to effect a resurgence in our economy. There was improvement in industry, agriculture and tourism. There was also progress in foreign trade. This enabled us to save a lot of money which we could utilise in the Janasaviya Program to alleviate the poverty of the people. Your MP submitted a list of names of your area and such needs could have been met with this money.

We had been collecting money necessary for meeting many needs of this area including the Mawanella bridge and road. But we had to use all that money for this unnecessary war. It was because of possible bad impacts on the economy of this nature, I tried my best to avoid this war. When we go to war, even if battles are not fought in the areas you live, it affects you.

We wanted to put more buses on the road. We wanted to improve the railway service. If you increase your bus fleet, more job opportunities will be created. When you

begin building roads and schools and establishing industries, more employment will be created and the income of families will increase. When war breaks out, these programs get disrupted.

### Justice Vs Injustice

Now there is a war in the country. It is not a war between the Sinhala and Tamil people. Nor is it a war between any other two communities. It is in fact, a struggle the people of all communities have launched against a set of wicked and evil minded people. There is a large number of Muslims living in the Eastern Province. They have become victims of the attacks of this evil force. They (LTTE) even kill Tamils if they become suspected of having assisted the police or the army. This is not a struggle between any two communities—it is a struggle between the good and the bad, justice and injustice. That is the very reason we will ultimately win this war. I can assure you that ultimately justice will triumph over injustice.

Sri Lanka is a multi-racial country where many communities such as Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims and Burghers live. There are also divisions in each of these communities. There are also divisions on the basis of regions where people live. We should be fair and just in all our activities. My government, elected by you do not look at problems from a communal angle. Nor do we look at problems on a caste, clan or religious basis. We look at problems from a human point of view.

All people, wherever they live, or to whatever community, religion, caste or clan they belong, they are human beings. All of them need food to eat, houses to live in and clothes to wear. They want a source of income to be able to live with self-respect. People living in all parts of the country, whether in North, South, West or East, want justice and fair-play.

My government is always prepared to do justice. We will enforce all laws, rules and regulations most stringently.

Everyone should be subject to the laws of the land and should carry out their work in a fair and just manner. However high the offices they hold, they should be prepared to face punishment for all offences committed by them. Our objective is to uplift the innocent people.

Today the whole administrative structure is being reorganised. The innocent people of the country were always pushed into a corner. They cannot obtain jobs. They are deprived of holding office. Bribery and corruption are rampant. Justice and fair-play is denied to them on ground of race, religion, caste, clan or political party. Although they may have qualifications, they cannot penetrate these barriers and get their due place in society. Nothing can be done in an office without giving a bribe. These bribes are taken not only in money but in other ways too.

I like to tell you that the whole structure is now being re-organised.

I have already visited 15 districts. The innocent people have been suffering throughout. There has not been any transformation although we have won our independence. These silent people have elected me to have their grievances voiced and redressed.

I promised to launch a Presidential Mobile Service. In a few days time, that is from 27th to 29th there will be a mobile service in the Kegalle District. This is not sufficient. I want to take the government machinery to the level of Assistant Government Agent [AGA] division. I hope to make arrangements for the villagers to get their matters attended to without having to go higher than the AGA division level.

But what I really want to see is that all your needs are attended to at the Grama Niladharis level. This is now being implemented. Sometime back there were only 4,400 Grama Niladharis. But today we have increased this number to 14,000. I have directed that Grama Niladharis should visit each and every home. He should look into the needs of every family. He should know all about them.

What is it that prevents them from standing on their own feet and leading a life of self-reliance? If they are not physically disabled, if they can work, and if this is an agricultural country, where an industry can be started with the available agricultural raw material, why should they continue to be in this position? If there are educated children and if they have the skill, why is it that some relief is not provided to them?

A Grama Niladhari today has to cover about 300 houses or 300 families. He must visit each and every house and look into their needs.

We are carrying out a survey of natural resources available in every AGA area. By next month this survey will cover all the 279 AGA divisions in the country. We need not leave out any village in the country as being incapable of being developed. Any village has more than enough resources to ensure a means of livelihood to every person living in it. All this time we did not pay attention to the need of helping these people. This is the root-cause of social unrest. Whether North, South, East or West of the country, this is the base from which terrorism springs. It is this helplessness that makes it possible for evil elements to mislead the youth. It is to remove this cause of social unrest that my government is striving hard.

We have summoned an All Party Conference and invited all political parties to join it in order to find solutions to national problems. This All Party Conference has now gone on for one year. It is only now that some parties have realised the value of this consultation process and are

showing an interest in discussing problems with other parties. They seem to have awakened from their sleep a little late. I invite all of them to join the All Party Conference to participate in the effort to resolve national issues.

The Gam Udawa Programme enabled us to reach the mass of the people. It is my firm conviction that it is the courage and understanding that you have, that enabled you to have a government that shows a real concern for your welfare. I would like to tell you that we would never betray that trust you reposed in us. The Gam Udawa Programme is the basis of my government. I have now entrusted an able minister with the responsibility of

carrying on with this programme. I do not have the least doubt that Minister Sirisena Cooray will not leave anything to be desired in this regard.

Mr Chandra Ranatunga, your member of parliament is a minister who ably assists Minister Cooray in this programme. I thank you most wholeheartedly for electing a representative so good and efficient as Mr Ranatunga to represent you in parliament.

May I conclude my speech assuring you of my fullest assistance to your MP to bring about the reawakening in Mawanella that he has in mind.